AL-FAJR

16 PAGES
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JERUSALEM

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POSTMASTER
Send address changes to
Al-Fajr
2025 I Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20006

(USPS 686-630

IO. 192
Y 4, 1984

exp. 84/06
Serial Records Division
Harvard College Library
Cambridge, Ma. 02138

TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this v Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

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Arafat in Cairo: Debate Rages in PLO and Occupied Territories

PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir Arafat paid an unexpected visit to Cairo, December 22, and met for two hours with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak. The visit to Cairo was the first to an Arab capital after Arafat and his 4000 loyalist fighters sailed out of the besieged Lebanese city of Tripoli two days earlier. The visit drew protests from his own Fatah central council and other PLO factions. Reaction in the occupied territories was mixed (see "Local Reactions," below)

The visit became public only after it was clear that the ships carrying Arafat and his men were headed for the Suez Canal and not Tunisia as had been expected. The Greek ship carrying Arafat, the Odysseus, docked at Ismailia port where Arafat received an official welcome from Egyptian Prime Minister Fuad Muhyi al-Din. He then flew by helicopter to the *quba* presidential palace where the meeting with Mubarak took place.

The visit marked the first time since the late president Anwar Sadat announced his plans to visit Jerusalem in 1977 that Arafat had set foot on Egyptian soil.

According to the resolutions of the last Palestine National Council in Algiers in February 1983, the PNC called on the Executive Committee to define relations with the Egyptian regime only on the basis of the latter's abandonment of the Camp David policy. (see *Al Fajr*, No. 148, March 4, 1983)

At the request of the PLO all Arab leaders meeting at the Baghdad summit in 1978 agreed to cut relations with Egypt because of Sadat's visit to Jerusalem. No Arab leader, except Sudan's Ja'afar Numeiri, has made an official visit to Egypt since then. Diplomatic relations between Egypt and the Arab world are still severed, although there has been a growth recently in unofficial links.

At a press conference after the meeting President Mubarak told reporters that the Egyptian air force and navy had escorted the ships carrying Arafat into Egyptian waters. Arafat himself told reporters that he thanked the Egyptian president and the Egyptian people for the help they gave to the besieged Palestinians in Tripoli.

George Habash, head of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, strongly denounced the visit and called for the ousting of Arafat as PLO head. Habash called Arafat's visit "a dangerous deviation and a clear cut treason."

The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, in a less harsh statement, called the visit "irresponsible and counter to PNC resolutions."

Yasir Arafat's own Fatah organisation was also critical of the move. A communique approved by all members of Fatah's central committee except Arafat said that the move "came as an individual action without the knowledge or advice of the committee." The central committee statement was handed to Arafat by PLO representative in Saudi Arabia Rafiq Natshe as the Odysseus was docked off Saudi Arabia for two days *en route* to Yemen.

After meeting with PLO military leaders in Sana'a, the capital of North Yemen, Arafat flew to Tunis, December 27, for meetings of his own Fatah central committee and the PLO Executive Committee. The Fatah committee went into immediate session on his arrival but there were no firm announcements of any decision.

The Arafat-Mubarak visit was welcomed by the United States government. Spokesmen in Washington said it gave new hope to the Reagan Plan of September 1982 calling for Jordanian sovereignty over the occupied territories. Israeli officials reacted bitterly to the meeting in Cairo and the US reaction. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir called it a "severe blow to the peace process."

In the Arab world, most of the official spokesmen remained silent on the topic choosing to wait and see if Arafat can weather the storm in the PLO or not.

Local Reactions

The surprise visit of PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat to Cairo, December 22, and his meeting with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, breaking the post-Camp David Arab boycott of Egypt, drew both support and protest popularly and from national leaders in the West Bank and Gaza. Supporters considered the visit a diplomatic breakthrough and part of a new political offensive, bringing Egypt closer to embracing Palestinian nationalist demands. Opponents, on the other hand, said the visit deepened splits within the Palestinian national movement, violated PNC resolutions and constituted a Palestinian move into the Camp David sphere.

Ramallah Mayor Karim Khalaf, who was dismissed from his post by the Israeli authorities, favoured the move. "Mubarak's official and popular welcome to Arafat is proof that the Egyptian president accepts the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, which is contrary to the Camp David accords. Thus Arafat's visit can be considered a new victory for the PLO and a return to Egypt's dealing with the PLO," said Khalaf.

Hilmi Hanoun, mayor of Tulkarm, one of the few still in office, also gave his blessing to the visit, saying that local Palestinians support the meeting. "We in Palestine support and bless all of Arafat's moves and initiatives, which are all for the benefit of the cause."

Bassam Shaka'a, elected mayor of Nablus who was also dismissed in 1982 by the Israeli authorities, told *Al Fajr*, "Arafat's visit was in violation of the Palestine National Council resolutions and the resolutions of the Arab League," which had called for a boycott of Egypt after its treaty with Israel. Shaka'a pointed out that the visit would increase the sharpness of the Palestinian split, in the

continued on page 13

Reverend Jesse Jackson tours a Palestinian refugee camp on the outskirts of Damascus. He told residents, "Never give up your dreams, don't allow anyone to destroy your spirit because one day you will be free." **(see story page 4).**

JENIN MAN SHOT DEAD AT JALAZON CHECKPOST

A Jenin youth was shot dead, January 1, by Israeli soldiers near Jalazon refugee camp on the Ramallah-Nablus road. Rida' Hashem Zeid Kilani, 23, was driving towards Nablus when Israeli soldiers opened fire at his car wounding him in the back. He died later in hospital.

Sources at Rafidiya Hospital, Nablus, said Kilani was brought there at 9:30 pm and an emergency operation was performed. He died the next day. His body was taken to Abu Kbir Hospital in Tel Aviv for autopsy.

Before he died Rida' said that men in military uniforms opened fire several times at his car, according to hospital sources.

According to the Israeli military spokesman Israeli soldiers at a checkpost saw a suspicious car and ordered the driver to stop. He continued and the Israelis opened fire bursting the tyres. He then jumped and ran into a second car, the spokesman said. Rida' drove through the checkpost, he added.

Soldiers found blood stains inside Kilani's car.

The dead man's brother Radi was summoned to military headquarters in Jenin the next day and told about the killing. Radi reportedly asked why the Israeli soldiers did not take his brother to hospital.

No other details of the incident have been made public.

With Israel's unofficial inflation rate for the past three months at 500 percent, *Al Fajr* finds it necessary to raise its subscription rate to US$50 per year and single issue rate to IS50.

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Return of Missing Needs Gemayel Nod, Nationalists Charge

As hundreds of Palestinians and Lebanese are rounded up and arrested by the Phalangist-directed Lebanese Army in the Sabra-Shatila camps and in the Chiyah neighbourhood, public mobilisation in Beirut in favour of thousands of *desaprecidos* kidnapped by Phalangist squads during and since the September 1982 massacres has resumed and taken on new dimensions.

In a press conference held last week in the presence of the *mufti* of Beirut, eminent jurists and members of the Committee of the Families of the Detainees and Missing, former Prime Minister Salim al-Hoss denounced the Gemayel regime's reluctance to deal with the question and to produce information on the fate of the Palestinian and Lebanese missing. At least 1500 men and women were led away to unknown destinations during and immediately following the massacres in Sabra and Shatila. Another list of about 1200 people, including women and children, kidnapped since October 1982 and never heard of since, has been compiled by the Families Committee. This list is far from complete, al-Hoss stated.

Salim al-Hoss called on the International Committee of the Red Cross to investigate the issue of the missing and present a documented report on it. He implied that the internat'onal agency was guilty of biased behaviour and a lack of commitment, had transferred information collected by groups operating to save the detainees and missing to the Phalangists, and was reluctant to press the Lebanese government on the subject — all grave accusations which should arouse international public opinion. Al-Hoss said his group, which is presided over by the *mufti*, will double its efforts to obtain information on, and free the missing, but he said this could only be achieved by a "central political decision," that is, a decision of the Gemayel clan which rules both the government and the Phalangist-dominated "Lebanese forces."

"All the persons arbitrarily detained or kidnapped are innocent citizens. They were all illegally taken and they must all be released," al-Hoss said, adding that his committee will totally reject "exchanges" or payments of ransom. Throughout the past year, large sums of money were paid to Phalangist gangs who made ransom demands, with no resulting release of the missing, and also to the Lebanese security services. This unfortunate practice only frustrated the efforts to organise public and political campaigns around the issue of the *desaprecidos*.

Lebanese parliamentarians Rashid al-Solh and Albert Mansour, meanwhile, presented a question to the Beirut government denouncing its lack of action for the return of the missing and for protection of citizens from arbitrary arrests and abductions. The Union of Lebanese Women also issued a dramatic appeal for the release of the detainees and missing.

Anti-Occupation Attacks Increase In S. Lebanon

Official Israeli military announcements said 93 soldiers died, 20 in accidents, and 260 were wounded in Lebanon during 1983. There were 500 separate attacks against Israeli occupation forces in Lebanon during the year.

A bomb exploded, January 2, in Kfar Houn village, east of Sidon, south Lebanon, as an Israeli military patrol passed near it. In a separate incident, an Israeli military vehicle was torched in the village the same day. No official casualty figures or further details were reported. The Israeli Army spokesperson said the area was closed.

Paris-based *Monte Carlo Radio* reported that it was the fourth military operation since the beginning of 1984.

Israeli soldiers broke into houses in Kfar Tibnin, 25 kilometres south of Sidon, January 2, according to Kfar Tibnin residents who issued a statement condemning them.

Meanwhile, in Sidon, Israeli forces arrested 12 people, including Sheikh Abd al-Rahman Hijazi, the *imam* of Ali Ben Abi Taleb Mosque. His son was detained last week.

Reports from South Lebanon say Israeli bulldozers ploughed up agricultural land between Sarafand and Ghazieh on the coast after an escalation in military operations in the area.

A *Reuters* correspondent in Lebanon predicted, January 1, that the escalation of repressive measures against residents would lead to an increase in military operations.

Political observers said that Muslim and Christian clergymen in the south now call in sermons for local residents to resist occupation.

The new year began with the detonation of a remote-controlled bomb in Nabatiya as an Israeli jeep passed near it. According to the Israeli military spokesperson, three soldiers were wounded and the vehicle was totally destroyed. Israeli troops searched the area.

Israeli sappers defused another remote-controlled bomb the same day buried beside a road seven kilometres south of Tyre.

Grenades were thrown at a convoy of military jeeps south of Sidon at noon, December 31. One personnel carrier and a military jeep received direct hits, but no injuries were reported.

An Israeli captain, Daniel Siban, 29, was killed in the December 26 Sidon attack.

Israeli newspapers published several reports about the increase of military resistance operations against Israeli soldiers. "Sidon was the centre of these operations," the Israeli media reported. Israeli paratroopers were said to be stationed along the South Lebanon coast.

News agency reporters in South Lebanon say that Israeli patrols, each comprising 15 men, are roaming the coastal region from the Awali River to the Zahrani bridge, passing through the main road of Sidon every half an hour. Trained dogs accompany Israeli infantry patrols.

Three armoured vehicles and two military jeeps regularly patrol the coastal road. Reporters said that Israeli authorities asked municipal council heads in Western Beqa'a villages to submit to them the names of all males tween 18 and 35 years of age.

Mosques Focus for S.Lebanon Unrest

by Livia Rokach

An alliance clinched in 1962 between the religious leadership and the secular political forces of the national resistance marked the beginning of the crucial phase of the mass insurrection in Algeria which culminated in the final defeat of French colonialism. Something of the sort is taking place in South Lebanon these days.

General movement of protest on all levels against the occupation has its focal point in mosques throughout the occupied areas, with masses in all towns and villages crowding into places of worship, which are in turn besieged and attacked by the occupation troops, with even more incendiary effects on the spirit of the people. In at least two cases, at al-Battah and Za'atri Mosques in Sidon, the Israeli Army unleashed trained police dogs against the praying crowds, sending new shock waves through the population and causing the multiplication of the protest and forms of struggle.

Although the occupation forces announced the reopening, January 2, of the passageways on the Awali River, following three days of hermetic closure and the paralysis of all traffic — both motorised and pedestrian — neither the popular protest nor the actions of the armed resistance show any signs of weakening. On the contrary. "Lebanon is the cemetery for the Zionists," read slogans painted almost everywhere. One such huge slogan, painted on a big flag planted on a roof in the centre of Sidon, had troops massively engaged, December 30, in attempts to reach it and take it down. Israeli flags are being burned almost everywere these days.

Hundreds of persons have been arrested in the past few days — about 200 in Sidon alone. Homes of leaders and dignitaries — such as that of the brother of Shi'ite spiritual leader, Sheikh Shams al-Din, himself a religious figure in Sidon — have been surrounded, broken into by force, their inhabitants humiliated and often arrested, as in the case of the son of Sheikh Shams al-Din. But the demonstrations, as well as the attacks on military objectives, continue unabated. January 1, three more attacks, including a spectacular one on Saad Haddad's headquarters, were carried out under the very nose of the occupiers.

That the insurrection is based on a compact alliance of all social classes against the occupation, seen as the first and foremost evil to be chased away, is evident. As of Thursday, December 29, Sidon, usually so lively with crowds moving around, industrial activities and commercial traffic, has been a totally spent, empty, deserted city, except for the huge demonstrations in and around the mosques.

The struggle of the south is followed and massively supported throughout Lebanon, in particulr in Beirut, where hundreds of thousands of refugees from the south fight against the Lebanese Army in a common battle with their families and villages fighting the Israeli occupation. On Friday, December 30, while the occupation troops were breaking into the crowded mosques in Sidon, unleashing their dogs "against the terrorists" — in the language of occupation spokespersons — as not even the French in Algeria had dared to do — in Beirut's biggest Saquiet al-Jenzir Mosque, the Sunni *mufti*, Hassan Khaled, and the Shi'ite spiritual leader, Sheikh Mohammed Mahdi Shams al-Din, jointly vowed that "Israel will never find peace on our land, but only rejection, condemnation and resistance."

Jumblatt, Berri Denounce Gemayel Rule

In Damascus, National Salvation Front leader Walid Jumblatt declared, December 30, that "any agreement with Gemayel and the Phalangists has become impossible in the wake of the attacks and atrocities comitted jointly by the Lebanese Army and 'Lebanese forces' in the last days." Statements of a similar tenor were also made by other patriotic Lebanese leaders. Amal leader Nabih Berri denounced the illegal arrests and disappearances of "many, many hundreds of Lebanese and Palestinian civilians." According to a Lebanese government spokesperson, "only" 150 persons were arrested, 62 of whom were found to be "foreigners without residence permits" who will be expelled. According to the same source, among the others there were "ten armed Palestinians."

Gemayel's Censors Squelch AL SAFIR

Beirut's most widely read and best daily newspaper, *Al Safir*, was closed for one day, December 28, and copies of its issue the previous day were confiscated by order of the Gemayel regime censorship. The confiscated issue contained several pages documenting in great detail the savage attacks carried out jointly through the Christmas weekend and the following two days by Lebanese Army units and Phalangist gangs in civilian neighbourhoods in south Beirut, in particular Chiyah, inhabited mainly by poor Shi'ite families.

The storming into homes by armed squads shooting at women and children, terrorising, killing, wounding, humiliating and destroying, was minutely described. In addition, a front-page editorial, signed by *Al Safir's* chief editor, Talal Salman, referring to the brutal attacks mentioned, stated the "if this is the policy chosen to be followed (by the Gemayel regime), it is useless to resume any negotiations."

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 192, January 4, 1984:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	**30**
Number of articles totally censored out	**8**
Number of articles partially censored but used	**3**
Number of articles passed	**19**

Ali Buka' Mosque (right), Sheikh Rashid Mosque in Hebron, both targets of booby-trapped grenade attacks, December 30.

IMAM WOUNDED IN HEBRON MOSQUE BOMBINGS

One man was wounded when two booby-trapped grenades exploded outside a mosque in Hebron, December 30.

The first grenade blew up early in the morning at the Ali Buka' Mosque, in the Sheikh quarter, slightly wounding *imam* Mohammed Ghazi Zeir, 34, in the head. A short time later, a second blast occurred outside the Sheikh Rahid Mosque, in the Sawakbeh quarter. No injuries were reported in the second blast, which damaged the mosque's gate. Israeli soldiers immediately combed both areas. Officials said later that both grenades were of Israeli Army issue. Both were disguised with plastic sacks. No arrests were reported.

Three hours after the bombings, an unidentified person speaking English with an American accent claimed responsibility in the name of the 'Terror Against Terror' (TNT) right wing Israeli group which has claimed responsibility for a series of attacks on Palestinian and other non-Jewish targets cover the past few years.

Mohammed Zeir said that he went to the mosque at dawn to call for prayers and saw a plastic sack containing what he thought was garbage near the gate. Noticing sparks coming from the sack, Zeir threw it and as he did, it exploded causing superficial wounds to his neck and forehead. He was taken to hospital.

Salah Natshe, the director of the *waqf* (Islamic foundation) in Hebron, condemned the incident and called on people to be cautious of strange objects near mosques.

MK Tawfiq Toubi, of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, strongly denounced the incident, which, he said, "is a dangerous progression in acts of terror committed by settlers and targetted at the Palestinian people."

Yair Tsaban, of MAPAM, called for an immediate Knesset session to discuss the escalation in the "instances of acts of terror committed by the secret Jewish group which calls itself 'Terror Against Terror.' " Tsaban also called for parliamentary supervision of the security situation.

Eleven bombs were placed in various Palestinian residential areas during the last few weeks. Five of them were placed at mosques, churches and schools, December 9. A nun and an *imam* were also wounded, December 20, in Azzariya.

Rabbi Meir Kahane, the head of the para-military *Kach* movement, issued a statement, December 30, of support for TNT. The Kiryat Arba settlement council issued a statement condemning the incident. An unknown person also called Israel Radio and claimed Kiryat Arba residents were responsible for the bombs.

A booby-trapped bomb was discovered at the government preparatory school in Azzariya, January 2. The school guard discovered the bomb, which was tied to the gate and covered with newspapers, and contacted the Israeli police. A sapper came and defused it.

Dheisheh Siegea for Arens Visit

Hundreds of Israeli soldiers carried out security arrangements in and around Dheisheh refugee camp, Bethlehem district, December 27, for a noon inspection tour by Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens and his top military aides.

Arens, accompanied by Amnon Linn, the commander of the central region, Binyamin Ben Eliezer, the coordinator of military affairs in the occupied territories, Shlomo Elia, the head of the 'civil administration', and senior Israeli military officers, visited the camp for 30 minutes to warn the 10,000 camp residents against stone-throwing.

Arens said that the military authorities might demolish houses overlooking the main road if stoning of passing Israeli military vehicles continues. Arens dismissed the suggestion by Israeli settlers that Israeli authorities expel convicted stone-throwers.

Arens stood at the main entrance listening to his officers' remarks and did not attempt to enter the camp. He also viewed the camp from nearby Mount Thaher.

United Press International reported that Arens aide whether it would be p. to build a high wall around .e camp. His aide answered that Dheisheh "is not a football stadium." Last year, soldiers sealed Dheisheh's main entrances in a punitive measure against stone-throwers. Two rows of shops were closed by the action.

Israel TV reported on the night of the visit that a new road will bypass the camp and eliminate the problem for Israeli vehicles.

The main Jerusalem-Bethlehem road was closed to traffic during the visit, and Israeli soldiers stationed themselves on the roofs of all Dheisheh houses overlooking the main road.

In neighbouring Beit Jala, two small planes were seen landing on the playground of the Iskandar Khoury School.

A spokesperson of the Youth Centre at Dheisheh Camp told *Al Fajr* the visit is linked to the plan of Ben Porat, Israeli minister without portfolio, to destroy the West Bank's refugee camps by resettlement. "Arens talked directly about demolishing houses in the camp," the spokesperson noted.

New Thowri Car Blaze

Arsonists burned a car belonging to Jamal Shawish, in al-Thowri quarter, Jerusalem district, December 29. The four-door sedan car was parked outside Shawish's house when neighbours woke to find it ablaze.

The fire began to spread to adjacent houses before neighbouring residents extinguished it. The car was totally destroyed.

Six cars were torched in the same neighbourhood two weeks ago in a night raid by as yet unidentified criminals. The Israeli militant group "Terror Against Terror" claimed responsibility for that attack and several other serious acts of vandalism and bombing in the past several weeks.

Hebron Curfewed After Grenade Attack

Usama Ibn Munqeth School, in Hebron's centre, currently occupied by Israeli settlers and soldiers, was attacked by grenade, December 22. Israeli soldiers detained more than 20 passersby for questioning and placed the entire old quarter of Hebron under curfew. The restriction was lifted during the night but reimposed on the second day. It is not known whether there were any injuries or damage.

The Usama Ibn Munqeth School was seized by the Israeli authorities last year as a temporary military headquarters during demonstrations but was soon transferred to the control of Israeli settlers, followers of the ultra-right wing Rabbi Moshe Levinger.

Attacks on Troops in OTs Continue

Five Molotov cocktails and two grenade attacks were reported in the occupied territories over the New Year week. In response, the Israeli military establishment ordered a considerable increase in the number of troops patrolling major West Bank cities and refugee camps.

On New Year's Eve, a military vehicle detonated a land mine outside Nusseirat refugee camp, in the centre of the Gaza Strip. Israeli Radio said the vehicle was damaged but denied there were casualties. Palestinian sources reported that Israeli troops rounded up a number of youths for questioning.

In another incident, Israeli police sappers detonated an explosive device minutes before it was set to exploded on an Egged bus in Jerusalem, December 31.

Similarly, Israeli and local Palestinian media reported a considerable increase in the number of Molotov cocktail attacks against Israeli military patrols in the occupied territories.

In the Nablus area, three Molotovs were thrown over a two-day period, January 1 and 2.

Balata refugee camp, the largest in the West Bank, was curfewed, January 2, according to *Al Fajr* Arabic daily, when a firebomb was thrown at Israeli vehicles during a demonstration. Protestors also threw stones and chanted anti-occupation slogans.

One day earlier, *Al Sha'ab* Palestinian daily reported that two Molotov cocktails were thrown at Israeli patrols in Nablus and Balata refugee camp. The paper said the first bomb was hurled from in front of a store in the old quarter of Nablus. Israeli soldiers later arrested the shop-owner, *Al Sha'ab* said. The Qasabeh neighbourhood was again placed under curfew.

The second attack was aimed at a foot patrol. No injuries were reported. Israeli troops arrested a number of pedestrians for questioning.

On the same day, Israel Radio reported that an Israeli bus driving through the town of Qabatiyah, south of Jenin, was attacked with a Molotov cocktail and stones by unidentified youths. The radio report said that there were no injuries.

In a related story, Israeli troops lifted, December 29, a curfew, imposed on the Qazazin and Usama Ibn Munqeth neighbourhood, in the heart of Hebron. The area was curfewed on December 23, after the Usamah Ibn Munqeth school, currently occupied by Israeli soldiers and settlers, was attacked with a grenade. Israeli military sources said the attack did not result in any casualties.

Dura Youths Jailed for Membership

An Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced three teenagers from Dura, southwest of Hebron, to prison for periods ranging between 15 and 30 months, December 15. They were part of a group of six charged with membership in an "illegal organisation."

The harshest sentence was passed on Farid Awawdeh, 16, and Yusef Abd al-Aziz Sharawneh, 16, both of whom were given two-and-a-half years actual imprisonment each. They were convicted on charges of membership in an "illegal" organisation and of weapons training.

Ghaleb Mahmoud Abu Saleh, 16, whose father is an ex-political prisoner, was given 15 months on similar charges. The young man was given an additional 33-month suspended sentence.

Last week the same court sentenced Samih Mahmoud Hussein Abu Saleh, 15, the youngest in the group, to 10 months imprisonment. Two more youths still await trial.

The six, arrested July 10 and held at Hebron prison,

Military Sentence Palestinians to Death

Two Palestinians from the Triangle village of Ara were sentenced to death by hanging, December 27, by a military court in Lydda. A decision by the court that the legal deliberations remain secret was overruled in the Israeli defence ministry.

Maher and Karim Yunis, who are cousins, were found guilty of shooting Israeli Corporal Avraham Bromberg, in 1980. Statements made by the two men, under torture, according to their families, say they were members of a Palestinian organisation and were ordered to kill a soldier. The pair allegedly stole Bromberg's automatic rifle, having shot him in the neck after they picked him up in their car as he was hitchhiking. The Corporal died eleven months laer in hospital.

The death sentence, handed down by a bench of three Israeli military officers, has caused controversy in Israeli legal circles. The three officers apparently did not follow accepted military legal procedures, Israeli reports say. They say the army preosecutor had not asked for the death sentence and that Attorney General Yitzhak Zamir was not consulted, as is usual.

No explanation was forthcoming from official circles, Israeli reports said, about why the judges tried to keep the trial and the decision secret and why the long-standing policy of not handing down death sentences had been broken.

The Israeli branch of Amnesty International immediately criticised the death sentences in a statement from chairperson Nitza Shapirar Libai. She said Al-Israel had asked then Prime Minister Menachem Begin to cancel the death penalty in 1979.

Teachers Pay Struggle Continues

The regional committee of Ramallah government school teachers distributed a letter among Ramallah and al-Bireh teachers, December 22, to explain and clarify its attitude regarding the 15 percent increase on the basic teachers salary. The committee said in its letter that the increase is "superficial" and does not improve the salary's "purchasing power." "Besides", the letter added, "the teachers will not get the increase until February 1984."

On December 1, teachers in 10 government schools in Ramallah and al-Bireh struck for one day protesting low wages and demanding a 100 percent increase.

Israeli inflation and shekel devaluation currently run between 15 and 20 percent a month.

The regional committee said that the teachers struck despite rumours and attempts by Israeli authorities to foil them. "The committee did not listen to the rumours, and 80 percent of teachers in Ramallah and al-Bireh went on strike," they said.

Teachers report they currently earn between IS17,000 and 25,000. In their letter, the regional committee thanked teachers and headmasters in Ramallah and al-Bireh for their participation in the strike and chastised those who broke it.

Rev. Jackson Gets US Airman Out of Syria

The Syrian government released, January 3, Robert Goodman, the US pilot captured during one of the US raids on Syrian positions in Lebanon, late last year. The release came as a result of a personal appeal and negotiations by candidate for the Democratic Party nomination for US president Rev. Jesse Jackson, who went to Syria four days earlier and met with Syrian President Hafez Assad and top Syrian officials.

According to press releases, the Syrian government said it hopes the "US government will withdraw its forces from Lebanon where it has complicated the very sensitive situation there." Syria, however, warned that it will "react firmly to any aggressive US actions."

Goodman accompanied civil rights leader Jackson to a press conference at the Damascus Sheraton Hotel and heard the candidate attack US involvement in Lebanon and demand an immediate removal of US troops there. Jackson praised Assad and the Syrians for their gesture.

Jackson and Goodman are to take a private jet back to the United States.

Students Escalate Struggle Against Jordanian Exam

Students in West Bank vocational institutes and colleges struck, December 26, in protest at renewed attempts to impose the comprehensive exam.

Basem Zweid, secretary of the students council at the Hebron Polytechnic, told *Al Fajr* that in the West Bank, students councils, vocational centres and colleges decided to renew the wave of protests to urge students at the Kalandia Centre who are now sitting for their final exams not to sit for the comprehensive exam later. Zweid added that only a small number of students in other institutes agreed to sit for the comprehensive exam.

Meetings were convened at the vocational centres in Hebron, Jerusalem, Nablus and Ramallah, December 26, in which student leaders talked about the political and academic implications of the comprehensive exam and distributed a statement to students.

The statement pointed out that the academic conditions in West Bank institutes are "not secure." They said there is imminent danger that the Israeli authorities might close the institutes.

"The comprehensive exam," the statement said, "gives the opportunity for Israeli occupation authorities to intervene by preventing any student from sitting for the exam for political reasons." Vocational centre students expressed resentment regarding an article on comprehensive exam regulations, according to which any student who is absent for 15 percent of classes is considered dismissed.

At Khoudri Institute, in Tulkarm, students struck for four days, beginning Decembver 26. At Asria Colleges in Jerusalem and Ramallah, study was suspended for one hour that day and at Ibrahimiyeh and Umeh colleges, in Jerusalem, the students struck for two hours.

The comprehensive exam was introduced two years ago by the Jordanian ministry of education. Ministry officials agreed to freeze the imposition of the exam for another year when West Bank students rejected it. This year, the Jordanian ministry is insisting on the exam. No additional certificates endorsed by the Jordanian ministry of education were given this year to the students who refused to sit for the comprehensive exam. The Israeli education liaison officer also distributed, last August, instructions to the West Bank's education departments ordering them not to employ any graduate who did not get the Jordanian diploma.

The exam was instituted, education experts point out, to regulate private educational institutes in Jordan. West Bank students say it is irrelevant here. They also oppose Israeli involvement in its imposition.

Triangle Villages Charge Police Brutality

Palestinians in several villages within the 'green line' complained of police harassment and brutality in the context of what police officials say was a raid on drug dealers.

On December 25, scores of police broke into a cafe in Tireh, the Triangle, and beat up and then arrested over 20 young people sitting in it.

In Qalanswa village, at 6:00 pm the same day, 25 police vehicles loaded with policemen broke into the cafes of the village, at 6:00 pm, and closed the 300 metres of the village's main street and raided cafes, residents say. The police randomly beat up residents taking evening strolls.

Nabhan Qashqoush, Qalanswa village council head, said that the council was holding its regular meeting when soldiers and border guards broke into the village and began indiscriminately beating local residents. Qashqoush said he failed in attempts to stop the beatings.

Two Israeli civilians reportedly witnessed the raids.

There has also been an increase in attacks on West Bank workers within the 'green line'. Twenty vehicles loaded with border police raided the Tel Aviv market area, December 19. Police reportedly broke into the rooms of workers and thoroughly searched them. The next day, 100 Palestinian supermarket workers went on strike to protest the raids.

Aref Khatib and Ahmad Aboud, construction workers in Rishon Zion, south of Tel Aviv, were beaten up by two plain-clothes policemen.

Binyamin Ghonin, member of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and DFPE MK Tawfiq Toubi protested the police harassment.

There was a demonstration in Qalanswa to protest the raid, the next day. Five people were arrested after a police vehicle was stoned, according to Israeli reports.

"I am on a hunger strike in protest against making our presence in Lebanon part of our life," says Yohai Katz from Kibbutz Barkai.

Ex-Gaza Mayor's House Attacked

A bomb exploded at the entrance to Haj Rashad Shawwa's house, in Gaza, December 31. No injuries or major damage were caused by the incident. Shawwa, the former Mayor of Gaza, and his family members were at home at the time of the explosion. They rushed outside at the sound and noticed damage at the entrance to the house.

In an interview with Israel TV, Shawwa said that "political extremists" were responsible for the attack because he has supported and called for strengthening Egyptian, Palestinian and Jordanian rapprochement.

Six local institutions in Gaza strongly denounced the incident in front-page ads in Arabic *Al Fajr* and said that these acts "do not serve our people but hurt the national cause." Individual Gazans also put ads in local newspapers denouncing the attack. In an interview with *Monte Carlo Radio*, December 30, the day before the attack, Shawwa said he supported PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat's rapprochement with Egypt.

Gaza Lawyer Town Arrested

A six-month town arrest restriction order was imposed, December 27, on Gaza resident Khalad Qidra Abd al-Hadi, Deputy General Secretary of the Gaza Lawyers Union.

Khaled Qidra was summoned to the military headquarters in Gaza where he was given the order signed by the military commander of the Strip. It restricts him to Khan Yunis during the day and to his home at night. He must report to the local police station daily. No reason was given for the restriction.

Qidra told *Al Fajr*, "the Israeli authorities do not want to hear any Palestinian voice." He said he will have to close his law ofice in Gaza City and abandon more than 60 pending cases.

In 1976, after serving two years in jail, Qidra was forbidden to leave the Gaza Strip for abroad. In 1981, he was given a one-month travel restriction order following the 17-day general strike in the Strip in reaction to the imposition of heavy taxes on Gaza professionals.

The Dawn
AL FAJR
AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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Al Fajr was founded in 1972 by Yusef Nasr, who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. The English edition was first published in April 1980. **The Dawn (Al Fajr) Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (UPS 686630)** is published weekly for $50.00 per year by Paul Ajlouny, 16 Crowell St., Hempstead, N.Y. 11550. Second class postage paid at Hempstead, N.Y.
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Al Fajr 2025 I Street N.W., Suite 925, Washington D.C., 20006.

Democracy

Since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982 — with its main target to destroy the united, independent structure of the Palestinian people, the PLO — attempts have continued on that same path until now. From Israeli, Western, Arab and even Palestinian directions, from extreme right to extreme left, the target was the same. The firm Palestinian weapon to foil all these attempts was always the unchallengeable democracy as practised within the framework of the PLO.

The correct principles of democracy adopted and implemented by the Palestinian people for their representative bodies proved themselves. These principles were always guided by the interests of the people as a whole and not individuals or minority groups. Collective leadership and fair, exhaustive discussion were set as basic principles. Freedom of expression and open discussion by the people has always been a principle that fed the decision-making bodies with the necessary data to come out with the most appropriate resolutions.

The essence of any popular struggle and a basic factor in its continuity until victory cannot disregard these principles. It is important for our people that every step, every move, every resolution in their long struggle regarding control of their destiny be weighed by them in light of these principles.

The Palestinian revolution is a struggle of the people — against injustice, compromise and conflicting interests and for political rights, justice and independence.

AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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Arab-Americans Get Political Nod

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington DC Correspondent

Have Arab-Americans "come of age"? Two American presidential candidates gave statements on this year's International Day of Solidarity with Palestinian People. The answer, surprising as it may sound, is a qualified yes. Both former Senator George McGovern and the Reverend Jesse Jackson sent quiet messages of support to the Arab American Anti-discrimination Committee (ADC) on Solidarity Day, November 29.

Election years have been known to reap rewards for Israel and its friends in the US. The drive of American candidates to win the presidency is so powerful that any action calculated to win a voting bloc is more than happily done. Support for Israel by presidential candidates, right or wrong, has been one of those investments with extremely high returns. Candidates already on record for supporting Israel, such as Ronald Reagan, have become even more supportive, and others less known for their advocacy, become supportive, such as Jimmy Carter and Ohio Senator John Glenn. Glenn, for example, was criticised by friends of Israel, not long ago, for his "evenhandedness" in the Middle East. He responded by taking the offensive against "evenhandedness," calling the PLO a bunch of international thugs, and offering, if elected, to recognise Jerusalem as Israel's capital and make it the seat of the US Embassy in Israel.

The messages from McGovern and Jackson are unprecedented and while politically could prove to be highly damaging, their stand is unquestionably very honourable and courageous.

The United Nations General Assembly agreed that November 29 will be annually remembered and celebrated as a day in solidarity with the people of Palestine. The US opposed the UN decision and does not take part in that day's activities which commemorate the day the same UN General Assembly approved the partition of Palestine into two states, with Jerusalem an international city. The US government twisted arms, threatened, and allegedly bribed other missions to see the partition resolution aproved in 1947 — now refuses to go along with other UN members in commemorating that day. The messages from Jackson and McGovern are therefore even more significant. Messages were also sent to ADC by others, including members of congress and executive directors of other American minority organisations.

Rev Jackson, who has visited the West Bank and the PLO offices and Palestinian camps in Beirut, heads the Chicago-based PUSH (People United to Save Humanity).

Jackson has obviously been targeted by friends of Israel, calling themselves Jews Against Jackson and pictures of him in Beirut embracing Chairman Arafat have been repeatedly used in an attempt to discredit him. Former Senator George McGovern, a Democrat from South Dakota, is known as a principled individual, who came out early and strong against the Vietnam war. In 1972 the American people rejected Senator McGovern's liberalism and they may do the same in 1984. McGovern was recently quoted as saying that only through a miracle can he win his party's candidacy. Arab-Americans have not come of age only to be considered by two American presidential candidates in an American election year. There remain, however, on the American political scene, individuals who would rather lose an election than their integrity.

Israel Under Resolution Fire

by Ghassan Bishara

The UN General Assembly criticised Israel for its reported plans to resettle Palestinian refugees on the West Bank, December 12. It was also condemned in a second resolution the same day for violating the terms of the November 24, PLO-Israel prisoner exchange agreement. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) reported to the UN that some Palestinians who should have been freed in accordance with the terms of the agreement it mediated were not freed.

In a statement released by the ICRC in Geneva, Switzerland, it was stated that most but not all of the 4500 prisoners to be released by Israel were in fact let go. ICRC, according to *The New York Times* of December 14, 1982, wrote that "several prisoners are still to be freed," adding that it "expects the terms of the agreement to be strictly respected." From Geneva, Nabil Ramlawi, PLO observer at the UN, said that 39 of the Palestinian prisoners are still in Israel.

Among them is Ziad Abu Ain, who was extradited to Israel from the US two years ago. Ramlawi is quoted saying that ICRC credibility will come under question if the remaining 39 Palestinians are not freed soon.

The US State Department refused to offer any relevant answer when asked about the problem. Spokesperson Allen Romberg said that the US was not party to the exchange agreement and that it had inquired of the state of Israel "about the whereabouts of certain individuals, prisoners with American citizen relatives," and that that was done for "humanitarian reasons." About Abu Ain, Romberg said that according to press reports, he remains in Israeli custody, "despite initial reports that he was to be released."

Israel's refusal to abide by the terms of the prisoner exchange agreement, it is being said here, will prevent the PLO and maybe others, from entering any such future agreements with it. The ICRC is also a potential loser. The US refusal to join the majority of the assembly in calling on Israel to simply honour agreements it has signed is another indication that Israel can depend on it, regardless of the consequences.

UN Condemnation

Riyad Mansour, deputy PLO observer to the UN, told *Al Fajr* that the General Assembly noted the ICRC report about Ziad Abu Ain's non-release and voted to condemn Israel for the fact he was taken by the Israeli authorities from Lydda airport before he was to leave. The assembly demanded his "immediate release. . . as well as the other prisoners, who were duly registered to be freed from Ansar camp and other military command posts in southern Lebanon but have not, in fact, been released."

The resolution also called on Israel to secure their transfer to Algiers in accordance with the good offices of the ICRC, Mansour said. The Assembly requested UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar to report to it on the implementation of this resolution. Voting were 106 nations in favour, Israel and the United States against and 26 abstentions.

The United States and Israel were also alone in voting against another resolution relating to the resettlement of Palestinians on the West Bank. In favour of this resolution, 146 states voted 'yes', and there were no abstentions.

In passing the resolution, the assembly confirmed Security Council Resolution 237, of June 1967, calling on Israel "to ensure the safety, welfare and security" of inhabitants of the occupied territories. Expressing its alarm at Israel's plans to remove and resettle Palestinian refugees, destroying their camps in the process, the General Assembly called on Israel "to abandon its plans and to refrain from the removal and from any action that may lead to the removal and resettlement of Palestinian refugees in the West Bank and from the destruction of their camps."

The assembly also demanded that De Cuellar and the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency keep close supervision on this matter and report to the assembly.

OPINION

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Response Counter-Response: Palestinians at AUB

THE PURGE OF PALESTINIANS AT THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

by Robert I. Friedman

Its red-tiled roofs, cyprus groves and spectacular hilltop view of the Mediterranean, has traditionally been a melting pot for Arab elites. Among its 25,000 living alumni are many of the luminaries of the Middle East. Lebanese Foreign Minister Elie Salem graduated from AUB (and was, until last year, its Dean of Arts). So did Dr George Habbash of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

The Maronite ruling class, educated in a conservative Jesuit tradition at St Joseph's University in East Beirut, has long viewed AUB with deep mistrust. As far as they are concerned, AUB's liberal academic environment allowed the campus to become a 'hot bed' of Arab nationalism. Almost daily something happens in Lebanon, one year after the start of the Israeli invasion, to remind the Palestinians of the slaughter of Sabra and Shatila. A car bomb guts a Palestinian owned factory, a Beirut business dismisses its Palestinian employees without reason, hooded Christian militiamen kidnap a Palestinian on her way home from work, and her battered, sexually abused

Letter to the Editor,

I am writing to express my vigorous and most indignant protest against the contents of the article by Robert I. Friedman, "The Purge of Palestinians at the American University of Beirut," appearing in your issue of July 8, 1983. The article contains numerous damaging inaccuracies and attributes a great many statements to me, in direct quotes, that I can assure you I did not make and would never have made. Other statements are inaccurately attributed to Dean Raja Khuri of our Faculty of Medicine.

President Gemayel did not pressure AUB to increase its proportion of Lebanese students last fall. The proportion of Lebanese reached 79% because fewer non-Lebanese were willing or able to come. This did not involve any decision by the University, nor pressure on it.

President Gemayel did not tell AUB "to either silence or dismiss its liberal faculty members." Nor, to the best of our knowledge, has "a Maronite think tank affiliated with the university (*sic*: there is none) drawn up a hit-list of Palestinian and left leaning Lebanese professors who will be purged when the time is ripe." Nor did Mr Zahi Bustany tell AUB to clear prospective students and faculty with the Internal Security Office, "and back down when the University resisted." Non-Lebanese individuals have always had to secure residence permits from the authorities in this country, as they would anywhere else. This is not an issue.

I am not in the habit, when speaking to journalists, of referring to the President of the Republic as "Amin." Nor have I ever said, or would I say, that "his attitude has hurt (AUB's) morale," or that we must work to "keep the government off our backs." I find it outrageous that Mr Friedman has put such words in my mouth.

The allegation that "trouble is brewing between the Palestinian students and the elitist, predominantly Maronite staff" of the Faculty of Medicine is false, as is the claim that admissions to Medicine are marred by prejudice. Medical admissions are a highly technical process run by a professionally minded ten-man committee. Mr Friedman's statement that I investigated admissions abuses and then ordered Dean Khuri to end discriminatory practices is a pure fairy tale. So is the statement, wrongly attributed to Dean Khuri, that Maronite students have been admitted from AUB's East Beirut branch with grades nearly 10 points lower than those of others.

Anyone living in Beirut can tell you that it is a gross exaggeration to say that "death threats, kidnappings, and random killings have become daily occurrences in Beirut," especially in the neighbourhood of AUB and especially in the year that has passed since the 1982 summer war. AUB has indeed lost some of its best faculty and students over the years, not as victims of current shootouts but primarily because of the insecure atmosphere of the previous seven years.

These are not the only errors in Mr Friedman's piece, but they are more than enough. It is a source of wonder to me that a journalist can get so many things wrong and misquote with such unfailing regularity, all in the interest of reaching cooked conclusions.

Sincerely yours,
Malcolm H. Kerr
President, American University of Beirut

Response to Malcolm Kerr
By Robert I. Friedman

One must feel compassion for Dr Kerr's devotion to proving that Palestinians are not discriminated against at AUB. Kerr is a fine scholar, who is known as a friend of the Arab World. Tragically, however, the more evidence that is uncovered, the more convincing the proof that the Phalangists' violent persecution of Palestinians in Lebanon has continued unabated since they slaughtered hundreds of Palestinian civilians at Sabra and Shatila in September 1982.

In fact, during the past year, it has been widely reported in the Western press that despite the presence of UN peacekeeping forces, multinational forces and occupying Israeli troops, the physical security of Palestinians in Beirut and South Lebanon remains in jeopardy. According to UNRWA officials in New York, for example, at least 40 Palestinians were killed between January and May 1983, and hundreds, perhaps thousands, more fled their homes in South Lebanon and Beirut because of Phalangist harassment. Furthermore, it has been reported recently that the Phalangists actually have threatened Western journalists who have written about the mistreatment of Palestinians. For example, the *Washington Post's* Pulitzer Prize winning reporter Loren Jenkins and John Campbell of the *New York Times* fled Beirut in September 1983, after the American Embassy told them the CIA had uncovered a Phalangist plot to kill them. The reporters were working on stories about the Phalangist involvement at Sabra and Shatila.

And Last April, Paola Crociani, a 29-year-old photojournalist with the AP, was arrested in West Beirut and held incommunicado for 36 hours in a fetid cell by agents of the Surete Generale, Lebanon's Phalangist-controlled secret police. According to a report by the Committee to Protect Journalists, Crociani was verbally abused and forced to watch scenes of torture before she was finally deported. Lebanese Prime Minister Shafiq Wazzan explained that Crociani was expelled for having contact with "undesirable elements" — a veiled reference to Palestinians.

Given the prevailing climate in Beirut, does it seem strange that the Phalangist government of Amin Gemayel is exerting pressure on AUB to limit its Palestinian faculty and student body? Phalangist officials never have hidden their hatred for Palestinians, nor their plans for the Palestinians, given the chance. Many of Kerr's most emotional arguments are completely devastated by current reporting from Lebanon.

Kerr seems particularly upset by my report that a pattern of systematic discrimination exists at the Maronite-dominated medical school, as well he might, since he hasn't done anything to alleviate it. Only last month, a Palestinian medical student at AUB, who was travelling in the United States, was denied a return visa by the Lebanese Embassy, effectively ending his medical studies. This student's experience is not unlike those of the dozens of other Palestinian students I interviewed for my story in *Al Fajr*.

About misquoting, I can only guess that Kerr either thought he was speaking off the record, or came to regret what he had said.

One correction: the think tank I refer to is at Kaslic University, and not at AUB. Somehow Kaslic was deleted from my story as it appeared in *Al Fajr*.

Finally, I wish the evidence had convinced me that life for Palestinians in Beirut, and at AUB in particular, were as rosy as Kerr suggests. But a reporter's obligation is to honesty and not to sympathy or ideology.

Peace Pilgrims: Not Here to Take Sides in Ancient Conflict

by Dean McFalls

To the Editor:

In response to your December 23 article on the Bethlehem Peace Pilgrimage: we were grateful for the coverage, but sorry to have been misunderstood. I do not retract my concern for justice and liberation in the West Bank. But we have not walked 12,000 kilometres to take sides in an ancient and complex struggle. After 21 months in prayer for world peace, we do not wish to return home having "blasted the Israeli settlements." Our overall goal has been to witness to a peace based on justice and non-violence, to a faith that honours God above military might and to the threat of a nuclear holocaust that may soon annihilate, indiscriminately, every human being.

Naturally, this goal leads us to criticise "terrorism on either side," as you reported. But you did not report that our group felt something of the deep suffering and fears of the Israeli people — something accumulated over the centuries which drives them, when coupled with hope, to seek a homeland here. Many of the Israelis we met criticised Israeli policies in Lebanon and the West Bank, and could be of great service to your cause. However, like Palestinians, they can easily be alienated by hatred and violence — even by words that seek to divide. We therefore stand opposed to hatred, violence and division, not only because of moral concerns and the nuclear threats but because they ultimately destroy the causes and people that possess them.

During our walk through the West Bank, we were impressed by the desire for a non-violent solution to an oppressive situation. Though we witnessed very few human rights violations. The stories we heard were supported by documentaries and independent sources. Again and again people asked us to share with others — especially the press and US citizens — what we had seen and learned. As Americans, we felt a burden to do just that, and have already begun. We will be protesting, among other things, the massive arms shipments, the support of settlement policies and US participation in yet another war. We know that suffering here is in part a byproduct of American attitudes, fears and foreign policy.

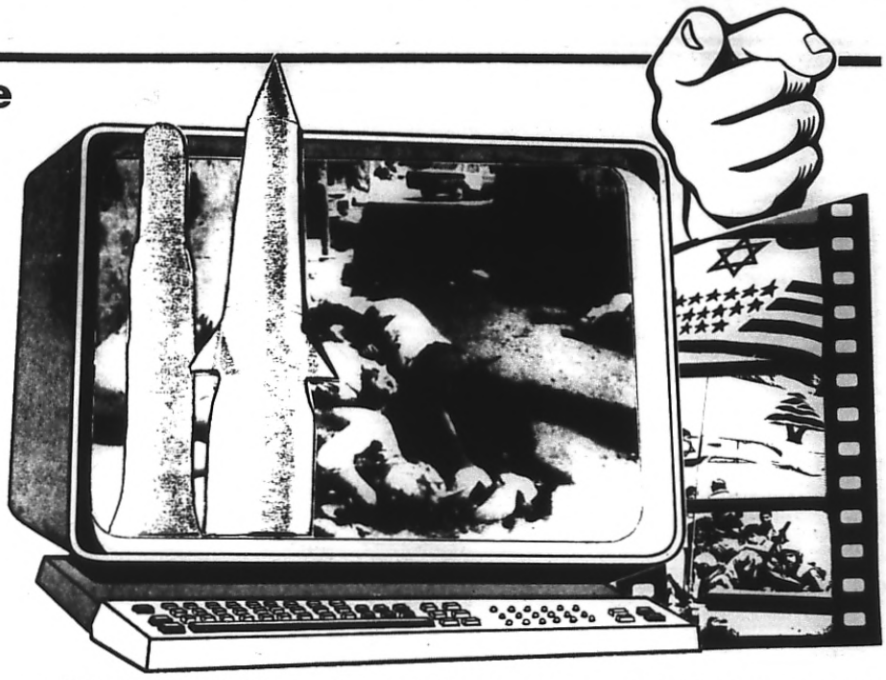
My prayer is that God will relieve us all from violence, that we will be spared the ultimate holocaust and that we'll all be shown a better way before it is too late.

Dean McFalls
Bethlehem Peace Pilgrimage

War is Peace

Love is Weaponry;

Only Lies are True



Not only a smile. . .

Everybody is concerned about 1984 because of George Orwell. Once he wrote a book that predicted horrible things, like prohibition of prostitution within the family (sex only by order of the politbureau), bombing overpopulated areas, two-way TVs that cannot be shut off so that one cannot even whisper to hide one's thoughts, etc., etc.

All of this does not yet exist as of the first days of the New Year! Thanks, Author of Life! As you know, prostitution exists on the streets and in the bars, in family life and even in the politbureau. Can you tell, for instance, who loves whom? The street prostitute certainly doesn't love the client but takes his money for a minute of technical work. So many couples do it only for "peace in the family and the sake of the children," not noticing that the sensitive little computers of their children absorb every false smile, kiss and hug and simply incorporate them into their own lives and life-style. At least on the streets, in bars and in the family home, prostitution serves natural needs, whether for payment in cash or for certain other necessary (and unnecessary) services.

The prostitution that takes place in school, for instance — where bored history, Bible, citizenship and other teachers bore youth with unnecessary items that will never be used by the students when they grow up — is the least of what happens in our hypocritical society and civilisation. Look into the unnecessities of politics: who, indeed, loves whom? Who cares for whom? See how Israel has "made order" in Lebanon, at least since 1975. It is a very careful and caring process, slowly, slowly infiltrating without invitation, on the ground and in the air, from the sea and for sure from underground too. Until in 1982 it entered it overtly. Let's not exaggerate: even the 1982 war was gradual. Was war ever declared? It was a campaign, and only for 40 kilometres, that grew to 45 automatically, and with automatisation another 40-50 kilometres was only natural and automatic. After all, we live in a highly technological era, don't we?

Then there was Sabra and Shatila, a massacre that was, of course, not done by the Israelis. Even their world-famous Mossad couldn't foresee it although it is reputed to be one of the best intelligence services in the world. Conclusion: one never can see one's own tail. . .

The Israelis so love the inhabitants of Lebanon that they are still there "making order," "making peace," etc. They even brought their friends, the Americans, there. And in order to have an orgy of the best sort, also the Italians, the French and the British. A real orgy. . .

The Syrians were invited by a call. They came at once. Service is service and love is love. They have so far served all the factions by turn. However, they first put their attention to killing the Palestinians (Tel al-Za'atar. . .), then others, and then the Palestinians again. One learns from the other; no craftsman leaves good style to his competitor. Of course not, not in prostitution. The same is now done by all: the Israelis, the Syrians, the Americans, the Italians, the French and the British. First hit the Palestinians, then others — for balance and order — then again the Palestinians, and so on.

And the Americans? They love the Israelis, of course. Very much. They provide more weapons, wheat and spare parts, as well as green bills, to them than to anybody else. However, the Americans still have love and weapons for Jordan, Saudi Arabia and even for Lebanon. . . For Egypt, of course, too. And they would make love with Syria too, if it only was free to make love with them. I really can't understand how it works with them — love and weapons — but they manage.

The Soviets, they indeed love everyone. They love the Syrians and the Palestinians, and when these quarrel they simply don't interfere. They also don't say anything about Israeli conduct in Lebanon or the 1967 occupied territories. You see, established prostitution is on a high level. There is morality involved: nobody interferes in the sphere of influence of the other. After all, everybody needs space for living and loving. So much for the prohibition of prostitution. Orwell, dear friend, prostitution still exists.

Now the rockets. One cannot say there are no rockets. There are. One cannot say they are not used, they are. But not in the manner described in Orwell's 1984. However, who needs them? Who needs the nuclear bombs and top-notch technological devices? The highly technological devices are enough. Mass annihilation takes place in Afghanistan, Lebanon and Iran-Iraq on a large scale; on an optimal scale it takes place in another 20 or more places on our peaceful and loving world. There are, of course, circles where one may live in peace and calm if he or she doesn't have a sensitive conscience. Local abundance covers everything painful in the distance. One may avoid reading newspapers or watch TV only to see Mickey Mouse.

Life is happy and meaningful — for those for whom life is happy and meaningful. Those who don't have a happy and meaningful life are anyway overpopulating the world. There should be a cut in population. But this is not something for the future in 1984, my dear Orwell; this has been around us for. . . how long? I really cannot count the time. Yes it's horrifying, what might happen even to us. I mean by "us" the "super" whatever, on "the right side" of the barrier. But we go everyday to business as usual, uninterrupted. . .

I mentioned television. And being uninterrupted. They don't need two-way television sets to control us. We are so busy with our "love affairs" and we are so much involved in the system that we do not even think of liberating ourselves. One thing is true: a lie. Work is Leisure; War is Peace; Slavery is Freedom; Silence is Noise; Covert is Overt is Covert; Coward is Coward — that is what we all are.

Here are some local examples: *Education = Brainwashing; Extremity = Self-Determination or Resistance to Oppression*. "Arab high school students will be involved in the Working and Learning Youth Movement (of the *Histadrut*). Within the next three months there will be plans for activities in Arab clubs of the movement. In a conference, December 28, in Giv'at Havivah (Mapam's educational training centre) with the participation of the movement's leadership, representatives of the Executive Committee of the *Histadrut* and educators from the Arab sector, there was discussion on the urgent need for educational activity among the Arab youth, in order to avoid its turning to extremism." (Translation: HaAretz, December 29, 1983).

Culture, Culture, Above All

"The proximity of the border excited the Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra, Tuesday evening, December 28, who, after a long journey to Kiryat Shemona (Khalsa), played four Bach, Handel, Vivaldi and Beethoven masterpieces. 'The proximity of the border adds something to the human being. I play in Vienna, Berlin, Tel Aviv and New York. I didn't return with anything new. Here it is different,' Pinhas Zukerman, who conducted and played in the orchestra, said during intermission. The concert was co-organised by a cultural club, the *Histadrut's* cultural department and the regional council as a beginning for further cultural activity in border settlements." (Translation: HaAretz, December 29, 1983).

And beyond the borderline. . . (on the other side of the same sheet of newspaper): ". . .an Israeli officer was killed, two soldiers wounded, a chain of explosives detonated in Sidon. . ."

WAR IS PEACE.

Occupation is Freedom

" 'One of the main tasks I took upon myself when I came to my (present) job was to work for the return of the local mayors. There is no municipality in the Territories now headed by an Israeli military officer or (another) Israeli which I didn't offer first to local citizens — not to 'designated citizens' but those from the box seats — but they always refused, using the same argument: it's worth waiting a little bit more — and the reasons are clear,' so Lieutenant-General (Res.) Binyamin Ben Eliezer, the coordinator of activities in the occupied territories, told *Al Hamishmar* during a tour of Rafah and Deir al-Balah in the Gaza Strip. The occasion was a festive party organised with local figures to celebrate the appointment of Lieutenant-General Binyamin Avraham as head of the 'civil administration' in the Strip.

"(Eliezer) added that on his recent journey to the US, he repeated several times the key sentence: 'Whatever happens, Jews and Arabs should learn to live together and to make this life nicer.' He turned to the notables: 'The fate of our and your children is common and it's worthwhile that they learn how to live each with the other.' He added that he will fight against violence, primarily to protect those who think the time has come to turn backs to the past and towards a better future for the benefit of all of us."(Translation: Al Hamishmar, December 29, 1983).

. . . With a smile

— Thoma

LOOKING BACK AT '83

Al Fajr chronicles below some major local events effecting Palestinians in the occupied territories reported in the newspaper in the first half of 1983. A summary of events from July through December will be published in next week's paper. It was not possible to note here the many cases of arrest, individual and group travel restrictions, land confiscations, curfews, school and shop closures, union raids, settler harassment, and new military regulations or even all shootings by soldiers and settlers which have gone, of necessity, unreported in our paper. For the sake of brevity, we have also eliminated restrictions placed on Palestinians throughout the year by Jordan. We hope this chronology gives our readers an idea of the daily harassment Palestinians under occupation experience.

January

Jan. 1 — **Massive** arrest campaign of unionists, journalists, writers and poets throughout the West Bank. Hundreds were taken to Fara'a detention camp and other prisons.

Jan. 2. — Hunger strike begins at Jenin prison protesting conditions and treatment.

Jan. 6. — Kiryat Arba settlers bulldozed electricity pylons in Beit Inoun, Hebron, on privately owned land.

— Israeli ministers inaugurated Neve Deqalim settlement in the Gaza Strip.

Jan. 7. — Hunger strike spreads to Nablus and Hebron prisons.

Jan. 8. — Jalazon camp raided by soldiers at midnight.

— Najah University roadblocked.

Jan. 9. — Ramallah military governor's car stoned in town.

— Kiryat Arba settlers again bulldozed the re-erected electricity pylons in Hebron.

— The Israeli Labour Federation, Histadrut, reaffirmed its policy of tendering building contracts in the occupied territories.

Jan. 10. — Curfew in Nablus center after demonstrations.

— Students council at Najah arrested.

Jan. 11. — Qadri Tuqan High School, Nablus, closed for one month.

Jan. 12. — Israeli settlers informed mukhtars of Dhahriyeh village that 20,000 dunums of land have been confiscated near Omer B settlement.

— Hebron University roadblocked.

Jan. 13. — Soldiers raided Bethlehem University and confiscated posters, books and students council files. More than 40 students were arrested, 30 from Hebron University.

Jan. 15. — All civil services fees doubled in West Bank.

Jan. 18. — 28,000 dunums from six villages in Nablus were confiscated.

Jan. 21. — Freij-led Bethlehem municipal council dismisses deputy mayor George Hazboun for observing West Bank municipalities' suspension of activities.

Jan. 22. — Nafha prison hunger strike begins.

Jan. 25-26 — Demonstrations in Nablus; three iron gates cut Old City from new.

Jan. 26. — 500 dunums taken from Battir.

— 300 dunums grabbed near Deir Istia (Emmanuel settlement).

Jan. 29. — Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij visits Egyptian officials.

— Ahmed Salim Abu Aisha, 18, shot in leg in Nablus by unidentified assailant.

Jan. 30. Israeli woman seriously injured by stone thrown by youths in Dhahriyah; town curfewed; 20 arrests.

Jan. 31. — 35,000 dunums confiscated from Yatta, Taffuh, Shayoukh, Swrif in the Hebron area, Bala' near Tulkarm and Mukhmas near Hebron.

— 2 houses destroyed in Bethlehem and in Dheisheh.

February

Feb. 1. — Store and house destroyed in Biddo, near Ramallah, as unlicensed.

Feb. 2. — Large land grabs — 170,000 dunums — near Yatta, Hebron, affecting several hundred landowners.

— Hebron house destroyed as unlicensed.

— Bulldozers cleared 6 dunums near JEC generators in Shufat, reason unknown.

— 3000 dunums grabbed in Deir Dibwan, belonging to 150 families.

— 28,000 dunums grabbed near Salem village, Nablus,

Feb. 3. — 3-room house destroyed near Kiryat Arba.

Feb. 5. — Closure and expropriation order for hundreds of dunums of Ramallah district land belonging to Beitunia, Ain Kinia, Kufr Na'ameh, Deir Ibzi', Janya and Ain Arik.

Feb. 7. — 200 dunums of Islamic waqf land confiscated in Deir Dibwan and Beitunia for "military purposes."

Feb. 8. Kahan Commission releases findings on Sabra-Shatila massacres implicating Ariel Sharon and others.

— Israeli military order circulated in Gaza makes any physical or legal changes in UNRWA camp housing punishable by fine or imprisonment.

Feb. 10 — 4 school principals dismissed in Jenin area.

Feb. 11. — According to a secret Israeli agriculture ministry report, 50 percent of West Bank land is in Israeli hands.

Feb. 12. — 12,000 dunums confiscated from Dura and Taffouh.

— Land fraud results in loss of 12,000 dunums from Beit Ilia and Kobar villages.

Feb. 13. — Tax raid on (tax exempt) Gaza Women's Union.

Feb. 14. — Israeli shot in Gaza market.

Feb. 15. — Kiryat Arba settlers demonstrate in curfewed Dhahriya.

— 5000 dunums confiscated in Asirah al-Qibliyeh village.

Feb. 22. — Dheisheh camp residents forbidden to buy heating fuel for houses.

Feb. 25. — Bomb explodes outside Hebron mosque.

— 5 Beduin killed, 4 injured by two mines in Naqab desert.

Feb. 27. — Kiryat Arba settlers fire at Naser Ja'abari home, injuring his 4-year-old daughter.

— 3 residents of Baqa al-Gharbiyeh, Triangle, sentenced to 6 months for building without licenses.

Feb. 28. — Hebron Village League head fired (Mohammed Nasr).

— Youth kidnapped by settler in Hebron.

— Six homes destroyed in Gaza Strip; sons in prison.

March

Mar. 1. — Bomb discovered under Hebron car. Settlers enter Yatta school looking for stone-throwers.

— 3 schools closed 1 month in Ramallah and Nablus.

Mar. 4. — Time bomb found in al-Aqsa compound.

— 100 dunums taken from Deir Dibwan owned by 45 families.

Mar. 5. — Time bomb found in Hebron secondary school.

Mar. 6. — Hunger strike in Hebron prison.

Mar. 8-9. — Wave of demonstrations, stone-throwing greets Carter visit to West Bank (Freij) and Gaza (Shawwa).

— 3 universities closed and 13 schools.

Mar. 9. — Bombs found in 2 schoolyards.

— 5000 dunums seized near Tarqumia.

Mar. 10. — 46 Kiryat Arba settlers attempt to take over al-Aqsa Mosque with explosives and firearms.

— Hebron University and the Polytechnic ordered closed indefinitely after demonstrations.

Mar. 13. — 12-year-old shot in leg by settler in al-Bireh.

Mar. 15. — Jamal Ahmad Masoud Nabli, 23, died in Jalazon camp from injuries from beating 10 months before by Israeli soldiers. Hospitalised with broken spine.

— 15 Naqab Beduin declare hunger strike to protest confiscation of sheep by Green Patrol.

Mar. 17. — Gaza youth shot dead by Israeli border guard.

Mar. 18. — 167 Gaza youths fined or given prison terms for demonstrating or stone-throwing.

Mar. 20. — Israeli cabinet approves conversion of 8 military outposts to civilian settlements near Palestinian population centres.

— Haifa court orders demolition of 6 homes in Baqa al-Gharbiya in Triangle for 'no license'.

Mar. 21. — 2-hour general strike in occupied territories to protest attempted attack on al-Aqsa.

— 35 people from an Arrabeh school hospitalised for poisoning.

Mar. 23. — 1350 dunums of land in Sharfat next to Gilo seized.

Mar. 25. — Israeli fraudulent land dealer axed near settlement in Nablus district. Seven Palestinians arrested.

Mar. 26. — 50 students hospitalised from a Jenin school.

Mar. 29. — 400-600 Jenin residents hospitalised for poisoning from unknown source.

Mar. 30. — Land Day. Tarqumia high school student, Tahsin Fataftah, 18, shot dead by soldiers dispersing a demonstration.

— 25,000 march in Galilee to celebrate Land Day.

April

April 2. — Yatta begins 18-day complete curfew after poisoning cases reported.

April 3. — 300 schoolchildren from Hebron region and 250 from Tulkarm are treated for poisoning symptoms.

April 4. — Fatmeh Abu Mayaleh, 65, stabbed by religious student-settlers in her Old City home.

April 5. — Mohammed Salim Nasrah, 15, died nine days after being injured in a demonstration in Jenin.

— Khalil Ibrahim Abu Khadijeh, 35, died in Ramallah prison of unknown causes. He was serving a 20-year sentence.

April 7. — Palestine Press Services newsletter banned.

April 10. — 10,000 dunums seized in Surif, Hebron district.

April 11. — Windows of 150 cars smashed in Hebron by settlers.

— 1000 dunums from Jibya, Um Safa and Nabi Saleh in Ramallah seized.

April 12. — 5 houses in Dhahriyah sealed as sons await trial for stone-throwing.

April 16. — 10 municipalities meet secretly to discuss Palestinian-Jordanian dialogue and 'civil administration' contacts.

April 17. — Bassam Hmeidan, 17, from Ain Beit al-Ma' camp, shot in leg by soldiers in Nablus.

April 19. — Abu Sneineh family pushed out of Old City home by settlers.

April 20. — 1000 dunums seized in al-Khadr, Ras Salah region, Bethlehem.

April 24. — Ben Porat plan to dismantle refugee camps in occupied territories disclosed.

April 26. — 350 dunums seized from Beit Ummar village.

April 27. — 1700 dunums grabbed in Wadi Fukin from 2 families.

— 1225 dunums grabbed from al-Ras village, near Tulkarm, and 1000 dunums from Beitunia.

April 29. — Windows of 22 cars smashed in Beit Jala.

April 30. — Jordan tightens travel and work restrictions for West Bankers.

— 1300 dunums seized from 200 families in Kfur Sur.

Destroyed houses in Shate camp in the Gaza Strip, July 1983. A plan to demolish the refugee camps was strongly opposed by refugees.

May

May 1. — 3 stores in Balata camp closed.

May 2. — Bidya farmer Ibrahim Agra', 57, shot dead by Israeli border patrollers as he stood before settler bulldozers. Two villagers were wounded and nine arrested.

— Shufah, Saffarin, Beit Lid and Kur villages lose 11,000 dunums in confiscation order in Nablus region.

— 50 dunums seized from Rafat village, Ramallah.

May 3. — Gas station and bakery in Nablus closed 3 months for 'security' reasons.

May 4. — Attempted arson of cars in Halhoul. Jewish terror group Shield claimed responsibility.

May 6. — Mohammed Taqatqa's house in Beit Fajjar demolished for having no license for an addition built before 1967.

May 8. — Aqraba, near Nablus, loses 1600 dunums in land grab.

May 10. — Settler shot dead in Gaza market.

— 5 Dhahriya teenagers sentenced to 11-13 years for stone-throwing resulting in the death of an Israeli woman soldier.

— Israeli High Court permits extreme right Israeli group to hold prayers at the corner of al-Aqsa Mosque.

Above: Over 20,000 dunums were confiscated from the Yatta area alone during the year.

Left: Violent incidents, followed by curfew, settler takeover and military post-turned-settlement was the pattern in Hebron, the southern West Bank city which lost the most in 1983.

— 5 women prisoners strike against serving prison guards, beginning 8-month women prisoners strike.

— Cafe and butchery closed in Nablus for 6 months.

May 11. — Hebron University reopened.

— Abd al-Aziz Shahin exiled to Dahniya village, near Sinai border, after completing 15-year prison sentence.

May 12. — Beit Sahur Mayor Hanna Atrash meets Israeli 'civil administration' head Sholomo Elia, in a break of national consensus pact.

May 15. — Demonstrations throughout West Bank to protest anniversary of 1948 expulsion. Jamal Zaboun, 21, and Abd al-Rahman Stitiyeh, 51, shot by soldiers in Nablus.

May 16. — Demonstration to protest shootings of previous day; many schools ordered closed.

— Al-Razim house demolished opposite Kiryat Arba settlement.

May 19. — Hundreds of settlers stormed Gaza to protest killing of 2 settlers earlier this year.

— Dr Hussein Obeid, head of the West Bank health department, fired for calling poisoning cases more than "mass hysteria."

May 21. — Israeli soldiers cemented shut both main roads to Arroub camp.

May 22. — High Court upholds the extension of Israeli law to the occupied Syrian Golan Heights, despite appeal by residents, making Israeli ID's compulsory.

May 25. — Over 40 Arab village councils struck for 2 hours to protest annexation of 180,000 dunums of their land to Israeli Misgav regional council for exclusive use by settlements in Western Galilee.

June

June 1. — Settlers damaged cultivated Arab land near Bethlehem.

June 2. — Iman Adawi, 16, shot by soldiers as Dheisheh camp residents protested en masse the sealing shut of their main road.

June 4. — Najah University closed until the semester's end after students demonstrated on the 1st anniversary of the Lebanon invasion; 40 arrested.

June 7. — All-day strike by 40 Arab local councils to protest Misgav annexation of their land.

June 9. — A 7000-dunum tract seized near al-Bourj, Hebron region.

June 10. — Freij meets Labour Party head Peres, prior to Amman visit.

June 14. — New military regulation bans teachers from partaking in any political activities.

— An entrance to Kalandia camp sealed for traffic "because of stone-throwing."

— Construction Workers Union, Bethlehem, raided by Israeli authorities.

June 16. — Rafah resident killed and 3 wounded by grenade attack on Palestinian workers in Tel Aviv hotel.

— Bulldozers destroy house of Mohammed Amin Daoud, of Haris, although he held a valid building license.

— Tulkarm art exhibition raided and 16 arrested for "unlawful assembly."

June 16-17. — Hebron curfewed, forewarning another settler takeover in the city center. Bus garage ordered shut for 1 month.

June 19. — Over 180 students prevented from taking 2nd half of tawjihi high school matriculation exams because of arrests.

June 21. — More than 30 pro-Jordanian Ramallah businessmen secretly meet Israeli 'civil administration' head on West Bank, Shlomo Elia, at occupied municipality.

June 22. — Israeli authorities confiscate 1000 dunums from Ras Karkar, Kharbatha and Kufr Na'ameh.

June 28 — Military order 1060 issued, eliminating West Bank civilian jurisdiction over unregistered land cases and easing land transfer to settlers.

— Eight unlicensed houses in Shate' (Beach) camp in Gaza demolished.

— Six homes sealed in Arrabeh, Jenin district, where sons were arrested on suspicion of throwing petrol bombs.

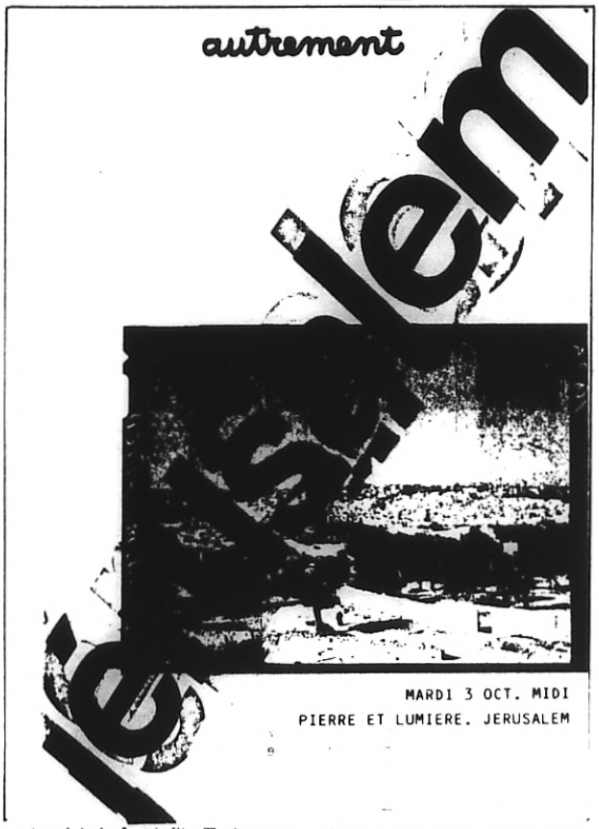
June 29 — Silwad municipality offices raided by tax men.

June 30 — Settlers arsoned bus in Arroub camp.

(continued next week)

The Lopsided Kaleidoscope: Autrement on Jerusalem

by Roger Heacock



"Autrement", a French adverb meaning "in another manner," is the name of a successful Parisian journal which seeks to cast a strong and original light on themes of particular interest. In the past few years, it has offered issues on education, midwifery, and youth, as well as ones devoted to different places in the world which present exciting or poignant dilemmas: New York, Berlin, Quebec.

A recent issue is on Jerusalem, and its approach is to let residents from the city's many communities speak for themselves. It purports not to take a stance, so that the readers can form their own opinions. In the words of Bernard David Cohen, overall editor of this issue, "After the 'discourses on Jerusalem,' which the West is accustomed to, here is the 'discourse of Jerusalem'..." (p.7). But in the same introduction, we are told that Jerusalem "surges out of the dips and hills of Judea," that it is the "centre of a rapidly constructed Israeli state" and that the Jews fought to "rediscover and reunify Judaism's only holy city." The attentive reader already knows where the editor's instincts lie, and one might add that he has revealed himself poorly versed in the Jewish faith for he would otherwise know that there are four Jewish holy cities: Hebron, Jerusalem, Safed and Tiberias.

True, an effort has been made to avoid the hard-line anti-Arab, anti-Soviet rhetoric so prevalent today in Israel and the West. And a certain portion of the issue is indeed devoted to showing the feelings of those who have lived under occupation since June 1967.

But the choice of texts is in and of itself significant: "scientific" presentations and programmes for action are left almost entirely to those who wish simply to consolidate the status quo, while the other side is left to depict the daytime and nighttime sufferings of the Palestinian population. It is thus in a sense the confrontation of the brain and the heart, according to the editor. And the uninformed reader seeking arguments might be expected to feel that the only ones which exist are on the more dispassionate "intellectual" side.

One outstanding exception to the selection made is to be found in the (brief) interview of the Palestinian archaeologist Mahmoud Hawari (pp.113-114), in which he critically analyses Israeli archaeological practices as exemplified by the Old City excavations. That particular interview was translated and reprinted in this newspaper (December 2, 1983). But for that one, critical view of the subject at hand, we are given three in which the "political" or "Arab manipulated" quality of UN, UNESCO and other criticisms of Israeli digs is denounced.

A closer look at the "scientific" contributions reveals some bewildering lacunae. The historian Joshua Prawer's account of the development of Jerusalem's neighbourhoods, for example, ends in 1870. It would seem that history went to sleep at that time, to wake up only after the eradication of various Jerusalem area villages beginning with Deir Yasin, the flight of all West Jerusalem Arabs, the razing of the Moghrabi quarter and the eviction of thousands of Old City residents. It is in vain that one seeks for any reference to such events, whose importance to the history and life of the Holy City nobody can deny. Mr Prawer even claims that there have been no significant modifications in the structure of the city's neighbourhoods since the thirteenth century, "despite the demographic transformations of Jerusalem in the course of generations" (p. 15). The statement is of course correct as far as it goes. But by what it leaves out it is a perfect example of science's lack of neutrality. The traumas of the contemporary period are thus, delicately and in one fell swoop, omitted from the article and the entire issue.

Going back to the question of excavations, Mr Ben Dov, the archaeologist in charge of Temple Mount operations typifies the "science" which holds politically charged issues in its grip, in his article justifying the dominant approach to Holy Land archaeology. But, disturbingly, he exposes the carelessness, ignorance and prejudice concerning the culture of the Middle East when he makes the incredible statement that "the mosques of Omar and al-Aqsa were built around the 6th-7th century..."

Some of his colleagues probably know that Islam itself, not to speak of its mosques, goes back only to the first quarter of the seventh century. He then adds that "the history of Islam is poor in descriptions of the period and only the discoveries made on the Temple Mount make it possible to bridge these gaps" (p.111). When one considers that this period, which he personally has revealed to the multitudes, is that of the life and death of Mohammed and his immediate successors, one can only applaud in the face of such erudition, such historical accuracy... such presumption!!! Let us simply add that the non-political nature of current West Bank digs is revealed in the expulsion order which several Nablus citizens residing on the edge of the Old City have just received in the interests of expanding a... Roman amphitheatre!

On a closely related matter, the question of free access to places of worship, we are told by the editor and the retired Israeli official he interviews, that such access has been assured since 1967 (and not before). We need to reach outside this volume in order to be reminded that it has on the contrary been *de facto* impossible for any Muslim or Christian not from Israel or the occupied territories to visit his or her holy places in Jerusalem. And it might be appropriate during this particular season to add the fact that very few Palestinian Christians may (or dare) go to Beit Sahour or Bethlehem in order to visit Shepherd's Field or the Nativity Church.

Of course *Autrement* is not, and does not purport to be, a scholarly journal. And yet, certain scholars are given a tribune here for expressing their views and, in a sense, cementing their case.

On the other side, we get a poignant insight into what it is like to be a Palestinian in the occupied territories after sixteen years. Ali Qadan depicts the dilemmas of "mixed couples" in a society rife with the promise of revenge against Arabs daring to have sexual relations with the daughters of Israel (the most fanatic group, Kach, calls for five-year sentences for such upstarts). He also describes the daily existence of those Palestinians who take jobs, such as garbage collection, no Jew will any longer accept. And most significant of all, we are graphically shown what it means for a Palestinian male to dare cross into West Jerusalem, in terms of repeated public humiliation by police and army (identity checks)... sixteen years after the city's "reunification". As Amnon Kapeliouk, as usual a lonely saving grace, puts it: "The Jews consider that the city is unified, but the Palestinians live it as a relationship between occupied and occupier... this harsh reality is also Jerusalem and it is too often passed over in silence."

Concerning the city's political and administrative future, the only concrete proposal is that of Raffel Barkan, "Israeli jurist and researcher." And here too we are treated to the usual approach, whereby only status quo (in other words: annexationist) voices, however soft-spoken, are given space for "reasoned" argument. But in this, crucial area, insult is added to injury, for the entire argument, despite its tragi-comic superficiality, has startling implications. The erudit jurist-researcher first dismisses any long standing basis for the Palestinian national movement, by noting, affirmatively if parenthetically, that "the fathers of most of those who today call themselves Palestinians did not live in Palestine but were attracted by the wealth created by the early Zionist settlements" (p.138). This well-known argument has, where historians of all political stripes and nationalities are concerned, been laid to rest, for the simple reason that it conflicts with successive population statistics taken back to the mid-nineteenth century. But it reveals the outlook of the author, who considers that his plan "logically, at least, seems to be compelling" (p.140).

And what is this logically compelling proposal? Briefly stated, to enlarge Jerusalem beyond its current extensive borders, so as to include Bethlehem in the south and Ramallah in the north; to divide the new unit into eight sub-municipalities administered by Arabs or Jews as the case may be: and to submit all this to a central council. The city, one should add, would be the capital of two states, Israel and a hypothetical (unnamed) "Arab state."

What are the direct consequences of this new administrative construct? East Jerusalem (and of course, the rest of the downtown area) would be Israeli controlled, despite its strongly Arab population! And the outlying Arab-controlled sub-municipalities (notably the northern with Ramallah and the southern with Bethlehem) would be placed under the tutelage of a central council where Jews would have an absolute majority! All of a sudden, two major West Bank towns have, politically speaking, been placed under eternal Israeli tutelage... blessed are the residents of Nablus!

There is perhaps a redeeming quality to this division of roles among the brains (but what brains!) — universally associated with warmaking, as a glance at ancient Greek mythology and the present-day American academic community demonstrates — and the heart (or guts). One senses somewhere, through the din of these myriad voices, that the strong, the generous, the universal ones are precisely those of the heart, as epitomised by Mahmoud Darwish in the following statement to his interviewer:

"I am a Palestinian citizen who bears three prophets in his hand... Christ belongs to me. The prophet of Israel likewise is mine. Mohammed as well. They all have names on the stones of Jerusalem. Since I am a Palestinian, Jerusalem is mine. All of the prophets who passed that way are my cultural heritage, my civilisation." (p.195)

And further on, "in Palestine, I didn't know who was Christian, who was Muslim, who was Jewish... The Jews who fled Christian or Nazi persecution in Europe didn't find a more generous heart than the Palestinian heart. Even when they now speak of Jerusalem being occupied by the Israelis, the Palestinian people do not drive the Jews out of the future of Jerusalem..."

For Palestinians inside the 'green line', local medical treatment is available only a few hours a day, if that, in Israeli-sponsored clinics. Residents of Nazareth count themselves lucky to have available to them the facilities of the foreign-backed Nazareth Hospital. *Al Fajr*'s **Awad Abdel Fattah** was there recently looking into the history of the institution and hearing the comments of local people.

Nazareth Hospital Has Respect, Confidence of Community

Atop one of Nazareth's giant hills stands the 100-year-old Anglican church-sponsored Nazareth Hospital. With two other smaller hospitals, one French and one Italian, also sponsored by European churches during the missionary zeal of the second half of the nineteenth century, the Nazareth Hospital provides major medical services for the Palestinian town and neighbouring Galilee villages.

The hospital continued to function after the establishment of Israel in 1948, despite the pressure of the new circumstances. Even through Israel has established government hospitals, the Nazareth Hospital, known locally as the 'English Hospital', has remained as important as before.

Recently the Nazareth Hospital earned popular appreciation from the Palestinian population after it opened its doors and gave free treatment to more than 30 local residents wounded when Israeli forces opened fire on demonstrators protesting the Sabra and Shatila massacres in September 1982.

A Hospital Begins

In 1861, a foreign doctor of Turkish-Armenian origin and a devout Christian, arrived in Nazareth and set up what was then the Galilee's sole hospital and only one of two in all of Palestine. In 1882, after the physician purchased a plot of land to build the new hospital, the Turkish occupation authorities arrested him on a charges of spying and confiscated the property. Even after his release from detention, he continued his voluntary work in the hospital until his death. Other physicians then came from England to take over the hospital work.

The hospital has continued to expand and improve over the years. New equipment is constantly added, and now dozens of volunteer doctors and nurses come every year to serve three-year stints. They are motivated by both humanitarian and religious reasons. "We view Nazareth with special religious importance because Christ lived here," one of the foreign volunteers told *Al Fajr*. He added that others give their service out of solidarity with the Palestinian people.

The 123-bed Nazareth Hospital is run by an administrative board of both Palestinians and foreigners. It is staffed by 20 doctors and 80 nurses, most of whom are Palestinians. An on-site nursing school was founded for training nurses from all over the Middle East.

Despite its small size and the fact that it has no ear, nose, and throat, opthalmalic or kidney dialysis departments, it continues to be the main hospital for the people of Nazareth. "In fact it has meant a lot to the people of Nazareth," said Yusef Sabbish, a resident of the city. Otherwise, he explained, Nazarenes would have to make the arduous trip to Haifa or other Israeli towns for hospitalisation. "And its relatively cheep fees make hospital treatment available to the poor," he remarked.

The doctors believe they are doing a good job. "We have never received a complaint against the hospital," said one veteran physician. "We try to do our best in order to provide the best and the fullest service for those who need it."

Another doctor said that the hospital can also be readied very quickly for emergencies. He cites as an example their reception of the demonstrators wounded in the Sabra and Shatila demonstrations, last year. "All the wounded recovered well, and no one was asked to pay fees."

Dr Nakhleh, a member of the administrative board, told *Al Fajr* that the *Histadrut* sick fund used to pay only 38 percent of the fees for medical services given to its Arab members at the Nazareth Hospital. It pays in full to Israeli hospitals. The *Histadrut's* justification was that the Nazareth Hospital does not have all departments. After a struggle by the hospital's administration, they were forced to up the rate to 60 percent of what they pay at Israeli government hospitals.

Most medical equipment in the hospital was donated from international bodies. "But," said Nakhleh, "[illegible] income and value added taxes were imposed on these donations." Last year the hospital bought heart monitoring equipment at a price of US$400,000. They had to pay US$60,000 in value added tax. "We should not have to pay this tax," said Dr Nakhleh, "because our hospital works on an almost voluntary basis and it provides services for a relatively poor community."

He told *Al Fajr* that all their efforts to get tax-exempt status have been unsuccessful, although Israeli hospitals are exempt from VAT on equipment donated from abroad.

"The discrimination against the Nazareth Hospital by the *Histadrut* is unjustified," said one administrative board member. "It seems the Israelis wish to destroy this hospital which serves a Palestinian community and to make them dependent on the Israeli hospital in Afula."

New Equipment

Dr Nakhleh told *Al Fajr* that from a medical point of view, the hospital functions efficiently and has improved over the past couple of years. Last year the hospital received US$120,000 in donations from abroad; most was invested in dialysis machines.

Until two years ago, when the dialysis unit opened, people with kidney disease had to travel two or three times a week to Haifa, Tiberias or Afula to receive treatment. The Nazareth Hospital unit means they will no longer suffer the effects of strenuous commuting. Dr Nakhleh says he hopes that the hospital will be permitted to improve its services and make them available to more people in the area.

The Nazareth Progressive Movement established itself after the last elections as the main opposition to the Democratic Front in the town. **Awad Abdel Fattah** of *Al Fajr* was recently in the town speaking to leaders of the movement and examining the growth and policies of this newest group in the nationalist camp.

THE NAZARETH PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

One of the more startling developments from the autumn elections was the emergence of the Progressive Movement in Nazareth. It captured four of the 17 council seats to the 11 taken by Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, the major political force which has dominated the town for the last 10 years, to establish itself as the main council opposition and a new radical Palestinian force in the town.

The Progressive Movement is only 18 months old. Despite its youth, it became relatively widely known following acrimonious exchanges carried out at the height of the election campaign. The 'news war' between the two parties' papers was such that Palestinian figures in the PLO advised the two sides, through *Falastin al-Thawra*, to recommit themselves to the ethical rules and traditions of electoral competition.

Unlike the other radical Palestinian groups and movements, such as Abna' al-Balad and al-Nahda, which arose in the last decade as independent and separate initiatives, the Progressive Movement emerged from a split in the Nazareth Peace and Equality Front.

Reasons for the Split

In December 1981, a public statement was distributed in Nazareth signed by "The National Bloc – Nazareth" declaring a withdrawal of a large number of academics from the Nazareth Academic League and the PEF. The statement explained the reasons behind the withdrawal and the motives which made them join the PEF in 1975.

According to the founders of the movement, it was organisational and ideological elements which caused the split. "But they say that the direct reason was (organisational and) the attempt of the (Israeli) Communist Party (CIP), which constitutes the back bone of the PEF, "to dominate the Academic League and monopolise decision making," said Aziz Shehadeh, a lawyer and one of the founding members. According to Aziz, this paralysed the activities of those who did not belong to the Communist Party and "subsequently paralysed most of the organisational bodies of the PEF. "Also," he said, "the municipality did not function well under the mayoralty of Tawfiq Zayyad because of the time his duties as an MK took."

Aziz Shehadeh (right foreground), one of the founding members of the Progressive Movement: "a national rather than economic conflict."

In April 1983, the disaffected group issued a 'Founding Charter' at a meeting in the town outlining their political programme. The initial group of academicians, doctors, lawyers and university graduates has since been joined by merchants, workers and craftsmen.

Until a short time before the split, the conflict within the PEF focussed on the functioning of the front itself, while the political and ideological differences which are taken today as the focal point by the Progressive Movement in its differences with the ICP were ignored. "We agreed on a lot of local issues," said Hassan Azam, a secondary school teacher and a leader of the movement. "This is why we delayed (raising) political differences. We had to unit against the Israeli discriminatory and oppressive policy."

Elaborating on this point, Aziz said that the PEF platform, which was worked out in 1975, stated that the front is a coalition of different political forces. "We formed the alliance at that time," he pointed out, "in order to strike against the reactionary and collaborating forces holding the municipality, which were backed by the Israeli authorities."

In the run-up to the second municipal elections, in 1978, the Academic League nominated a member to stand as the PEF's candidate for mayor in the Nazareth municipality in opposition to the incumbent, Tawfiq Zayyad. This step was interpreted by ICP leaders as "the bourgeoisie trying to take the mayoralty from the working class." The communists accused their opponents from the Academic League in one issue of their organ *Al Ittihad* of "having the complex of the bourgeois educated" who believe that it is they who can achieve change and reform and lead the people."

The longstanding and undeclared conflict within the PEF brought the opposition elements to an agreement to establish a "broad national body." It was joined by the Nazareth-based former members of the al-Ard movement, which was outlawed by the Israeli authorities in 1962.

Political Differences

Despite its opposition to the policy of the ICP, the Progressive Movement does not have a united line. But there are general guidelines on which all its members agree.

continued on page 13

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

The surprise visit of PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat to Cairo and the intense debate in Palestinian circles that followed it dominated the front pages of all local papers during the new year period. All papers gave extensive coverage and full details of all Arafat's moves and statements and those of other members of the Fatah central council.

The continuing spate of bomb attacks on non-Jewish targets in the occupied territories was the only local story to dent coverage of developments outside the country.

The Defeatists Will Fail

The defeatists will not waste a minute after Arafat and the fighters leave Tripoli. They will start, as before, publicising their sick dreams about "new opportunities" to return to the policy of "save what you can" and to talk once again about the "Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan on its two banks" and the necessity to take on new efforts with the imperialist Americans to push through Reagan's plan with the help of Egypt's Mubarak.

They say this, forgetting the strategic agreement between the US and Israel and the American plan to split Lebanon and subdue it, using the battleship USS New Jersey, as well as the bad consequences of the Camp David agreement on the Egyptian, Palestinian and Arab people.

It is clear that all these monarchs, princes, sultans and presidents and all their mercenaries have nothing more to offer the Palestinian cause and people than an invitation to accept defeatist initiatives.

They know very well that the American imperialists will not offer a "just solution." But they continue telling their lies, first because they do not have any alternative and second to justify their pressure on the PLO to abandon the decisions of the last Palestine National Council in Algiers. They want to widen the rift with Syria and among the Palestinians so that they can destroy the PLO and take its place.

AL TALIA
December 22

The Only Choice is Palestinian

The disappearance of "this organisation" and as a result the disappearance of the Palestinian people "from the political arena," according to a statement by Israel's foreign minister yesterday, is Israel's condition for any talks with any Arab nation. It may be necessary for this official to explain the origin of this policy which they refuse to abandon.

Maybe Anwar Sadat really believed "direct talks" are the "shortest way" to a just peace. But the tragic results did away with this belief. The Camp David road encouraged Israel and its imperialist American friend to escalate their aggression on the Arab people and to stick with this Zionist condition calling for the disappearance of the Palestinian people.

For this reason we see that there is no other correct and realistic way out of this without an international conference, under the auspicies of the United Nations, chaired by both the USSR and US and with the full participation of all concerned parties, particularly the PLO and Israel, to solve the Palestinian issue and bring about a just and comprehensive peace.

Life itself has proven the failure of all the imaginary choices — from Camp David to the Jordanian option. All those who are sincere and not searching for another alternative or for the "short way" will realise that our way is the only alternative. This we consider the "Palestinian choice." (The Palestinians) have no other way to regain their just rights.

AL ITTIHAD
December 23

That We Not Repeat Mistakes

There is again talk about a Palestinian government in exile. Palestine and the Palestinian people have previous experience with the same subject. We should talk about this subject and think for a long time before we make a similiar move again.

After May 15, 1948, the Arab Higher Committee established a government known as "The government of all Palestine." It was headquartered in Gaza and headed by Ahmad Hilmi Abd al-Barqi. That government included a number of ministers and employees. The Arab League allocated no more than JD5000 a year to it.

This government started work but soon found they were nothing more than helpless elements without any power or control over any part of Palestine, with the exception of symbolic control over the Gaza Strip, which was under Egyptian rule.

Cabinet members started failing. Some went to Jordan, others emigrated to Lebanon and some went back home to Cairo.

All that was left of the government was its head, assisted by a friend. Even he did not have room in Gaza and therefore left with his government to Cairo. He opened himself an office in the Arab National Bank, which he owned, but kept the title and the seal used for Palestinian passports, which no one recognised, including the Arab nations.

That government had a seat in the Arab League but was isolated and pushed away from the main table and the delegation sat alone, not participating in the discussions or voting. Ahmad Hilmi sitting at his isolated seat made a pitiful picture.

That government was a mockery and a laughable affair not up to the standard of the struggling and intellectual Palestinian people.

The government started folding until it stopped issuing Palestinian identity cards. It came to an end with the death of Ahmad Hilmi, who was buried in Jerusalem according to his will.

We believe the current situation is no better than the previous one and that any Palestinian government to be established will not be any better than the previous one. For this we hope that no move will be made that we may regret later.

The issue is not that of names and governments. The PLO has enough legitimate and legislative structures that would allow it to freely do more than governments. So why should we tie up the PLO with governments when we get nothing in return?

AL QUDS
December 26

The Wrong Move

It has been made clear to everyone that the wrong move by Yasir Arafat in his visit to the Camp David regime was not a dream or a turn of imagination, even though our people still have not awakened from the shock.

But gradually, it is becoming clear that this move was planned and considered. It does not only lead to the visit but to something more difficult and dangerous. By this move, Arafat intends to leave the struggle in which he was one of the uncontested heroes. More than this, he is also leading to the division of the PLO since the rest of the member groups refused to follow him and support him.

This is what we saw over the past few days. We are not here to respond to those who supported his move and wanted to sell it as a step in the struggle. This is a problem we do not allow ourselves to discuss because the Arab people have already judged its first hero, Anwar Sadat; so what will it be when the issue concerns the leader of a revolution whose people have suffered because of the Camp David agreement?

When Arafat made his move, he was planning more than that. Three days ago he declared that he is ready to establish a government-in-exile and that he is more convinced now than ever before that it is important to establish it in order to continue the struggle. He added that this subject will top the agenda at the Palestine National Council.

AL MITHAQ
December 28

A Call to Avoid Diversions

Misunderstanding events around us could lead us to a road dangerously far from the main and decisive goals we are aiming at.

The haphazard and destructive condemnations and denunciations by Palestinians of the visit by Yasir Arafat to Cairo can start side conflicts among them at a time when we are in dire need of unity.

Therefore, those who rushed to criticise Arafat should have waited a while, leaving it to legitimate PLO channels to deal with any Palestinian official who does something very sensitive and important.

It is regretable to find, even in the most difficult circumstances facing our Palestinian cause, groups among us who allow themselves to become nothing more than tools in the hands of certain Arab regimes going after their own suspicious interests with total disregard of the Palestinian interest.

Past experience and years of dispersion and loss have showed us the negative results of such an approach. This creates the right atmosphere for our enemies to bury our cause and turn us into a losing card.

To those dissidents, and through the bitter reality we live, we call on them and urge all the Palestinian parties to return to their senses and think correctly in order to avoid any diversion of the main goals of our Palestinian people, particulary regaining their legitimate rights.

AL FAJR
December 29

Only Legitimate Channels

The Fatah Central Committee opened its session in Tunisia, yesterday, hours after Yasir Arafat arrived from Sana'a where he chaired a meeting of the Higher Palestinian Military Council. The PLO Executive Committee is also expected to meet this week.

Abu Ammar's visit to Cairo will top the agenda at both meetings which will also discuss Palestinian work in the aftermath of Tripoli.

With these meetings, the legitimate Palestinian institutions return to work. They are the only authority entrusted to resolving any dispute among the Palestinians, including the Cairo visit.

In order to establish the right atmosphere for these meetings, all Palestinian parties, particularly those concerned over the unity of the PLO and the independence of its decision, are urged to stop the emotional propaganda war which is hurting our people and leave the matter to the institutions.

We do not want to believe, and hope what the Syrian media is disseminating is nothing more than lies, regarding the intention of some Palestinian groups to send messages and delegates to Arab capitals to call on their heads of state to withdraw their recognition of Arafat's leadership. If this is true, it will become an historic condemnation of those behind it.

Legitimitacy is not found with the Sheikh of the Emirates or the Amir of Kuwait or any other president or king. The legitimacy of Yasir Arafat has been derived from the Palestinian people through its legitimate institutions. This attempt, if true, would be an open invitation to the Arab regimes to increase their interference in internal Palestinian affairs.

Discussion of any Palestinian issue should be through the legitimate institutions and framework, not the Gulf capitals and the rest of the Arab capitals. We are confident these institutions can bolster the unity of the PLO.

AL SHA'AB
December 31

Al Najah Calls for Support Against Closures

Students and faculty of Najah National University, Nablus, were prevented from attending classes, December 24. Two military roadblocks erected at the main entrances of the university prevented buses carrying students from entering campus for "unexplained security measures," in the words of one person turned back.

The Board of Trustees at the university issued a statement, December 24, calling on "all those concerned about academic freedom" to intervene to safeguard academic life at the university.

The statement, entitled "Al-Najah National University is Officially Opened," listed Israeli restrictions on the university. The statement noted that "since the new fall semester began, military roadblocks have barred students from attending their classes." Sixteen days out of a total of 31 were lost this semester.

Last semester, Israeli military authorities closed the university for three months (from June 4 to September 1, 1983) and consequently the academic semester was extended until October 31. The statement defined these measures as a "new tactic" practised by the Israeli military authorities "to achieve effectively the same results of the closure."

The statement called upon all persons who value academic freedom to campaign to safeguard academic life at Najah.

Sa'eb Iriqat, the Najah University director of public relations, told *Al Fajr*, "Israeli authorities claim that they block the entrances of the university to prevent outsiders from coming into the campus. I say that it is not their business to decide whether they will or will not permit outside guests to come into the university."

Al Najah to Twin With US Schools

"Initial steps have been taken to twin Najah University, Nablus, with Arizona and Portland Universities in the United States of America," Sa'eb Iriqat, the university director of public relations, told *Al Fajr* on his return from the US, December 25. Iriqat expects that the final steps of twinning would be completed at the beginning of the 1984/5 academic year.

According to the twinning document with Portland University, students of both universities will be considered local students and pay only local tuition fees. Two places have been reserved for graduates with excellent academic results, and assistance will be given to teachers conducting scientific research.

There will be a teacher exchange, and non-academic links will also be made.

The twinning arrangement with Arizona University, which has 42,000 students, was restricted to the engineering, agriculture, business and language education departments. Arizona University promised technical and consultative assistance to Najah.

The aim of the twinning as stated in the Arizona-Najah document is "to escalate cooperation in scientific research and to exchange graduates and faculty members."

Last summer, Najah's cooperation with Illinois University was formalised, and professors in economic, and business administration are expected in Najah next July, Iriqat said.

The Najah University administration is making contacts with another three universities in the US and two British universities. "These achievements are evidence of the good academic level in Najah University and its programmes," Iriqat said.

Unionist Gets Fifth Restriction

A six-month town arrest was renewed for the fifth time, December 27, for Jerusalem unionist Abed Abu Diab, chief consultant at the Jerusalem District Electricity Company.

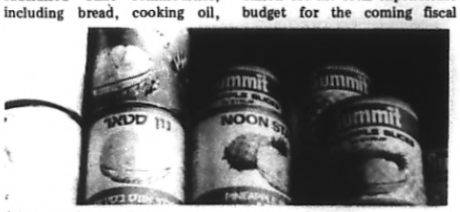
Abu Diab is banned from leaving Jerusalem at any time and ordered to remain at home from dusk to dawn. Like most Jerusalem residents under town arrest, he was also instructed to report to police headquarters every day.

Town arrest was first imposed on Abu Diab on January 1, 1982.

Abu Diab told *Al Fajr* the travel restriction prevents him from performing his job properly. "I want to file a complaint with the High Court and demand that the International Committee of the Red Cross and human rights committees intervene to lift town arrest restrictions."

Prices Soar, Israel Still Without Economic Policy

The Israeli treasury announced, January 2, a 15 to 18 percent increase in the price of subsidised basic commodities, including bread, cooking oil,



dairy products, frozen meat, chicken and eggs. The cost of electricity is expected to increase 28 percent in the next few days.

Israeli finance minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad has also proposed a bill which would raise travel tax to IS14,000 and index it.

The Israeli state debt increased by US$440 million in the last quarter of 1983, to total US$22 billion for the year.

Meanwhile, the coalition ministerial economic committee has proposed a budget of IS1,433 billion for the total expenditure budget for the coming fiscal year. The finance minister is holding negotiations with ministers to accept cuts in their budgets.

Adi Amorai, alignment member in the ministerial economic committee, said that the government must make cuts in the defence budget and expenditure on West Bank settlements. He also called for Israeli forces to be withdrawn from Lebanon to save money.

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Arafat in Cairo

end causing a negative effect on the Palestinian problem.

Haj Amin Nasr, the dismissed mayor of Qalqilya, welcomed the Arafat-Mubarak meeting: "We in the occupied territories support the Arafat-Mubarak meeting and all the political moves carried out by the head of the PLO, which we consider our sole and legitimate representative. Arafat's moves towards bringing Egypt back to the Arab line in facing Israel prove that he is a leader worthy of the confidence of the people."

Wahid Hamdallah, the dismissed mayor of Anabta, who is, like Khalaf and Shaka'a, also under town arrest, called for patience and political wisdom in view of the looming open controversy: "I was not happy with the visit of our leader Arafat to Cairo. Nevertheless, I ask all leaders and brothers to control themselves and not let the event carry them away."

Standing Bethelehem Mayor Elias Freij and dismissed Gaza Mayor Rashad Shawwa, both of whom have long called for closer Palestinian-Egyptian relations and negotiations behind Jordan, openly welcomed the move. Others who came out in favour of the visit include: Sheikh Sa'ad al-Din Alami, head of the Supreme Islamic Council; Mustafa Natshe, the dismissed acting-mayor of Hebron; Hanna al-Atrash, mayor of Beit Sahour; Anwar Nusseibeh, head of the Jerusalem Electricty Company; Gaza lawyers Khaled Qidra and Zuheir Rayyes; Jamil Tarifi, former deputy mayor of al-Bireh; and Doctor Amin Khatib, head of the West Bank Charitable Associations.

In Gaza, the director of the Palestine Red Crescent Society and leading local figure, Doctor Haidar Abd al-Shafi, told *Al Fajr* that he is not happy with the visit: "It is not based on collective decision-making among Palestinian leaders. Mubarak's Egypt is the same as Sadat's Egypt, as far as their attitude towards Israel and holding on to the Camp David agreements is concerned."

Jerusalemite Ibrahim Dakkak, head of the West Bank Professional Unions, wrote a commentary in *Al Talia* weekly newspaper in favour of open discussion of Arafat's move: "It is not permitted, Palestinian-wise, to use the Israeli objection to the visit in order to belittle the opposition to it."

Among those who openly opposed the visit were: Bashir Barghouti, editor of *Al Talia* newspaper; Jiryis Khoury, head of the Lawyers Union; Ma'moun Sayyed, former editor of *Al Fajr*; Azmi Shuaibi, former al-Bireh councillor; and three members of the Beit Sahur municipal council.

In next week's issue, Al Fajr *will publish an analysis of local Palestinians' reactions to PLO Chairman Arafat's Cairo visit.*

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Progressive Movement

The movement believes that the Palestinians inside Israel are an integral part of the Palestinian people and their fate is bound with the future of the Palestinian people. The movement's members believe that no party or group can claim the right to represent the Palestinian people except the PLO. Aziz Shehadeh told *Al Fajr* that one of the political differences between them and the ICP is that the movement refused to recognize the 1967 borders as the borders of the future Palestinian state. "It is the PLO which has the right to determine the borders of the Palestinian state," he said. Also the movement does not "view the conflict between the Palestinian people and the Zionist movement as a class conflict but as a national conflict."

Concerning the issue of running in parliamentary elections, the movement has no unanimous position. According to Aziz Shehadeh, most members do not believe that Palestinians inside Israel can achieve their civil and national rights through the Knesset. "It is a Zionist organisation," said one of the leading members, "and most of its members are Zionists, and therefore we do not believe that the Arabs in Israel can affect the general policy of the Israeli government through the Knesset." He added, "Even our children are grieved because of laws (which were) passed by the Knesset."

Activities

Most of the activities of the Progressive Movement are confined to Nazareth. Its bimonthly newspaper concentrates on the local issues of Nazareth, including the affairs of the municipality. Since the new board took office, the paper has started to publish reports on the regular sessions of the municipal council. "We are functioning as a constructive opposition in the council," said Aziz Shehadeh, who added that the movement's representative will cooperate with the municipality in everything serving the interests of Nazareth against the Israeli authorities.

There is also concentration in the movement's organ, *Al Tadamon* (Solidarity), on the question of the policy of discrimination against Nazareth. According to the members of the movement, the paper is open to whoever is interested in writing, whatever their political opinions.

"We do not pretend we belong to a certain class; we belong to all classes," said one leading member.

The Progressive Movement is establishing itself. A centre for the movement's youth activities was opened recently. According to Miysara Zu'abi, the person responsible for the centre, they have a small library and hold lectures on different subjects.

At the height of the recent conflict in the PLO, the movement organised two popular meetings. At them they condemned "resorting to arms and supported Abu Ammar." *Al Tadamon* has published a series of articles about the conflict and all took a pro-Arafat stand. "We do not worship Abu Ammar but we support him as head of Palestinian legitimacy," said Aziz Shehadeh. He added that he knows that Abu Ammar has made mistakes "but the military attack on his forces in Tripoli cannot be justified. It is a crime," he remarked.

WEEKLY REVIEW

December 21, 1983

GAZA ENGINEER JAILED

GAZA — The military court in Gaza sentenced Assad Tbiel, an engineer, to an 18-month jail term on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation.

IS1 MILLION TAX

RAMALLAH — The military court in Ramallah ordered a storeowner in Kalandia refugee camp to pay IS1 million in back taxes.

THREE ISRAELIS BEAT ARABS

HAIFA — Two soldiers and an Israeli bus driver chased and beat two Palestinians from the village of Qabatiya, near Jenin, who they suspected of stoning their bus and breaking windows. The two Palestinians were hospitalised. The three Israelis were charged with assault.

December 22, 1983

TEACHERS' POVERTY GROWS

RAMALLAH — The Ramallah branch of the West Bank Teachers Committee issued a statement saying the raise they were promised by the authorities is only a 15 percent increase of the basic salary and will not help them. It notes the increase will not be paid until February next year.

OBJECTIONS COMMITTEE CONSIDERS CASE

JERUSALEM — The military objections committee held a hearing on the case of 3000 dunums of Sawahreh land confiscated as supposed government property.

THREE DISAPPEAR IN GOLAN

GOLAN HEIGHTS — The Israeli police are searching for three Druze from Majdal Shams, two of them brothers, who disappeared from their village two weeks ago. The police believe the three may have crossed the border into Lebanon to fight with the Druze there.

TAX RAID IN NABLUS

NABLUS — Israeli tax collectors raided several stores in Hitteen Street, in Nablus, took identity cards of storeowners and then asked them to pay heavy taxes ranging between IS500,000 and IS1 million in value-added-tax.

Storeowners complain that this new campaign comes at the same time that the market is going through a serious recession.

December 23, 1983

HAND GRENADE ON HEBRON SETTLEMENT

HEBRON — A hand grenade was thrown at a settlers post, Beit Romano, in Hebron, Israel Radio said without giving a report of damages.

Beit Romano is the Israeli name of Usamah Ibn al-Munqeth school taken over by settler vigilantes. A curfew was immediately imposed on the area.

FIREBOMB IN ASKAR CAMP

NABLUS — A firebomb was thrown on an Israeli Army patrol near Askar refugee camp, near Nablus.

The area was surrounded by the army, and residents between the ages of 16-70 were ordered to gather in front of a mosque for interrogation.

BOMB IN SIDON

LEBANON — A bomb went off in the South Lebanese city of Sidon, Israel Radio said, claiming no damage was done. The radio said military operations in Sidon are on the rise and the Israeli Army is increasing its presence.

FOUR YOUTHS JAILED

RAMALLAH — The military court in Ramallah sentenced three youths from Arroub refugee camp, near Hebron, to varying jail terms on charges of membership in Palestinian organisations.

Samir Abu Sharbi was given 3 years, of which 16 months are suspended; Khalid Ibrahim Jawabreh got 3 years, of which 25 months are suspended; and Jamal Warassneh got 15 months in jail, plus 19 months suspended. A fourth, Ghalib Mahmoud Aliyyon, from Dura, was given a 16-month term and 20 months suspended, also on charges of membership.

VACANCIES

TEL AVIV — With settlement building on the rise in the occupied lands, seven percent of the houses in Israel are not occupied, Israel's housing department reported.

SETTLEMENT COSTS DOUBLE

TEL AVIV — The cost of settlement building will reach IS43 billion by the end of this fiscal year, almost double the original amount allocated, according to Israel's Knesset finance committee.

TAX OFFICIALS RAID NABLUS STORES

NABLUS — Israeli tax officials raided several Nablus stores and ordered the owners to pay heavy taxes.

December 24, 1983

PEACE GROUPS MARCH

JERUSALEM — About 160 people walked from Jerusalem to Beit Sahur, concluding a 12,000-kilometre march that started from the west coast of the United States and ended in Bethlehem in 1983 to protest the nuclear arms race.

The core of 20 marchers who have walked all the way arrived in the West Bank two weeks ago and marched through West Bank cities and towns meeting Palestinians. The group expressed support for and understanding of the Palestinian cause.

PILGRIMS ARRIVE IN NAZARETH

NAZARETH — More than 2000 Christian pilgrims from Europe and Latin America arrived in Nazareth to take part in Christmas celebrations.

KIDNAP ATTEMPT

TEL AVIV — An Israeli soldier told the police that he foiled a kidnap attempt against him in Ramallah. The soldier said that a car stopped near him and two persons tried to force him into the vehicle. But the soldier resisted and fired into the air. Although Israeli soldiers combed the area, the two persons and the driver mananged to escape.

December 25, 1983

OCCUPIED LAND WORKERS SIX PERCENT

TEL AVIV — An aide to the Israeli minister of labour and social welfare said workers from the occupied territories make up six percent of the total labour force in Israel.

December 26, 1983

HOME DEMOLISHED

BETHLEHEM — Israeli authorities demolished Hassan Ali Muhaisen's two-room house in Zatara, Bethlehem district. The Israelis said the building was unlicensed.

TEACHERS DISMISSED IN QALQILYA

QALQILYA — The education department in Tulkarm suspended eight men and women teachers from Qalqilya. The teachers have been working since the beginning of the scholastic year, but the Israeli liaison officer of education did not endorse their appointments.

STUDENTS STATE POSITION ON COMPREHENSIVE EXAM

WEST BANK — Students of vocational centres and private colleges distributed a statement demanding cancellation of imposition of the comprehensive exam, which the Israeli authorities and the Jordanians are trying to impose on their schools.

PALESTINIAN WOUNDED IN SETTLEMENT

JERUSALEM — Unidentified persons opened fire on a group of Palestinian workers in Taleh Fransieh, near Shufat. Mahmoud Rashid Abu Ramouz, 45, an employee of the Bader Construction Company which does excavation work and is supervised by the Jerusalem municipality, was wounded in the neck. Abu Ramouz was taken to the Hospice Hospital, in Jerusalem.

THREE NABLUS STORES REOPENED

NABLUS — Three Nablus stores closed three months ago were allowed to reopen. The stores were ordered closed by the military government following a grenade attack on a military vehicle in the city.

FAMILIES REUNITED

BETHLEHEM — Sixteen people from the Bethlehem area were reunited with their families after the Israeli military government gave them West Bank residency status.

December 27, 1983

RELEASE ABU AIN

TEL AVIV — An Israeli human rights group issued a statement calling on the government to release political prisoner Ziad Abu Ain in accordance with the prisoner release agreement between the PLO and Israel last month.

NEW ROADS IN SOUTH LEBANON

TEL AVIV — Israel Radio said the Israeli military has opened new roads from villages in south Lebanon.

MERCHANT FINED IN JENIN

JENIN — Israeli tax officials ordered Jenin grocery owner, Saleh Shukry, to pay IS1 million for selling a quantity of rice without writing a bill for it.

Meanwhile, in Nablus and Tulkarm tax officials raided several stores and collected between IS500,000-700,000 in value-added-tax.

SETTLERS BEAT PALESTINIAN

JERUSALEM — Several settlers from Attiyot, near Ramallah, attacked and beat Awad Hassan Abu Kishek. Abu Kishek was travelling on the road near the settlement when the settlers stopped him and dragged him to a nearby forest after they blindfolded him and beat him. He was left there until 5:00 pm, when shepherds found him.

ROAD TO BE DIVERTED

TEL AVIV — Israeli television said yesterday a new road will be opened to redirect traffic from the road passing Dheisheh refugee camp. This step is taken to reduce stone-throwing incidents.

TEACHER DISMISSED

AIN YABROUD — A teacher at Ain Yabroud Secondary School, A'ayid Salah al-Din, was dismissed from his work as a geography teacher by the Israeli military without giving any cause. Salah al-Din has a BA in geography and archaeology from the University of Jordan.

LAWYERS COMMITTEE TO STUDY PRISONS

JERUSALEM — The Women Prisoners Committee contacted several lawyers to establish a committee to pressure prison authorites at Neve Tertza to improve conditions in the jail. The committee is made up of Felicia Langer, Walid Fahoum, Lea Tsemel, Abed Assali and Jihad Bulus.

YABOUD RESIDENTS ALLOWED TO TRAVEL

YABOUD — The Israeli military lifted a 75-day travel restriction on Yaboud residents wanting to travel to Jordan.

December 28, 1983

TWO PALESTINIANS FACE DEATH SENTENCE

TEL AVIV — Israel Radio said the Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced two Palestinians from the village of Ara to death. They were found guilty of membership in a Palestinian organisation and killing an Israeli soldier.

ANSAR PRISON FOR WOMEN

TEL AVIV — An Israeli Army magazine reported in its last issue on the establishment of an Ansar prison for women, next to the Ansar Camp in South Lebanon. The magazine said, reporting for the first time on the presence of such a camp, that many women prisoners were in the camp guarded by Israeli women military police.

TAX OFFICE WANTS PREPAYMENT

TULKARM — Tulkarm merchants said the Israeli income tax department has ordered them

to pay IS15,000 in taxes as an advanced payment for the next fiscal year.

NEW TAXES

NABLUS — Nablus jewelry shops rejected new Israeli orders to send all jewelry to tax officials to be stamped. The cost of the stamp is IS7.5.

December 29, 1983

SHUFAT YOUTH JAILED

JERUSALEM — The military court in Lydda sentenced Kamal al-Sahah, from Shufat refugee camp, to a four-year jail term on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation.

Bethlehem teacher Neimeh Khawja was sentenced to one year by the military court in Ramallah on the same charges.

UNIONIST'S TOWN ARREST EXTENDED

JERUSALEM — The town arrest order on Abed Abu Dhiab was extended for six months, as of January 1, 1984, for the fifth consecutive time.

Abu Dhiab works as advisor to the general manager of the Jerusalem Electricity Company. The order requires that he does not leave Jerusalem during the day and his home during the night. He also has to report to the Jerusalem police station every morning.

MAGIC BULLETS

TEL AVIV — Israel Radio said a Palestinian employee of the Jerusalem municipality was injured when a stray bullet hit him while at work. The radio did not give further details.

DECEMBER 30, 1983

STUDENT TOWN ARRESTED

JERUSALEM — The town arrest order on Samir Sbeihat, from the village of Romana, near Jenin, who was recently elected president of the Bir Zeit University Students Council, was extended for six more months by the military government. He has to appear at Jenin police station, 15 kilometres from his village, every Monday morning.

BOMB DISCOVERED IN BUS

JERUSALEM — An explosive device was discovered on an Israeli bus in West Jerusalem. The bomb was defused without causing any damage.

TWO PALESTINIANS JAILED

RAMALLAH — Riyad Salti was jailed for a year and Samir Fleifel for 15 months on charges of membership in the PLO and resisting the occupation. Both were also given three-year suspended sentences by a Ramallah military court.

PEACE NOW OPPOSES SETTLEMENTS

JERUSALEM — Peace Now members demonstrated in front of the Israeli prime minister's office against West Bank settlements which they say encourage terrorism against local Palestinians.

The demonstrators also condemned the planting of the two bombs which exploded a day earlier in Hebron mosques.

three more. The three are in stable condition in hospital.

LIGHT RETURNS

JENIN — After seven months without electric power, the Israeli military finally approved al-Jalmeh village's request to purchase a new generator. Lights were turned on in the camp for the first time this evening.

NAZARETH PROTESTS DISCRIMINATION

NAZARETH — Nazareth City Council protested the Israeli interior ministry 1983-84 budget for the city of IS310 million, which is only 40 percent of what the council asked for. They said in their protest letter that the central government's contribution to the budget of the largest Arab city in Israel is equivalent to one-third of what Israeli Jewish cities get.

Peace Now's pocketbook protest, December 30, calls for a settlement freeze. The posters read: "Where did the money go? The West Bank swallowed it up" and "Stop spending money in the territories."

December 31, 1983

NO WATER IN JAIL

JERUSALEM — Reports from Majdal prison, near Asqalon, said the Palestinian detainees there are facing serious difficulties after the prison authorities cut off water.

TAX RAIDS

HEBRON — Israeli officials raided several stores in Sama'a and imposed heavy taxes on them.

ONE KILLED IN TRAFFIC ACCIDENT

HEBRON — A traffic accident in Hebron resulted in the death of one citizen and the injury of

WAQF DIRECTOR PROTESTS TERROR ACTS

JERUSALEM — Hassan Tahboub, director of the Muslim *waqf* in Jerusalem, wrote to the Israeli military governor of the West Bank asking him to take measures to quell terror attacks on local religious and secular Palestinian institutions.

VOLUNTEER GROUP SURFACES ROAD

AZZA CAMP — The Azza Refugee Camp Voluntary Group and local people finished tarmacking 25 metres of road in the camp after a week of work.

January 1, 1984

SHEEP CONFISCATED AND SOLD

HEBRON — Almost 2500 sheep belonging to farmers in Yatta, near Hebron, were confiscated by the Israeli Green Patrol, the paramilitary arm of the nature conservation agency, under the pretext the herd was found on confiscated land.

Town residents said several trucks brought by the Israeli officials loaded all the sheep and took them to Beer Sheba, where most of them were sold to Israeli kibbutzim. Only 100 sheep were returned after their owners paid a fine of IS20,000 per head.

Jamal Shawish and neighbours survey the remains of his car torched in al-Thowri village, December 28, by unidentified vigilantes. The blaze set nearby houses afire.

DAVAR: 93 SOLDIERS KILLED IN 1983

TEL AVIV — *Davar* newspaper said 73 Israeli soldiers were killed in South Lebanon and 216 wounded during 1983, in 500 military operations. Twenty more soldiers were allegedly killed in traffic accidents in Lebanon.

JAIL TERMS

JERUSALEM — The military court in Ramallah sentenced Mahmoud Abu Saleh, from Dura, near Hebron, to five months jail on charges of demonstrating and distributing leaflets.

Seven youths from Amari refugee camp, near Ramallah, were jailed for between three and a half to six years on charges of membership in the PLO.

STUDENT UNDER ARREST

TEL AVIV — Israeli Radio said Assi Atrash, head of the Committee of Arab Students at Beer Sheba University, has been put under house arrest at his home in the village of Daboria. Atrash has to stay home from sunset to sunrise and inside the village during the day.

WOMEN ON STRIKE IN SIDON

SIDON — More than 400 women held a sit-in protest at a Sidon mosque to protest Israeli measures in South Lebanon. The women are mothers and wives of men arrested by the Israeli military.

NABLUS YOUTH JAILED

NABLUS — The military court in Nablus sentenced Suleiman Qahtawi, a Balata camp resident, to an eight-month jail term on charges of demonstrating.

CABINET APPROVED BUDGET

TEL AVIV — The Israeli cabinet approved Israel's US$20 billion budget for the new fiscal year. Government spokesperson Dan Meridor said cuts will affect all the sectors, including the settlement department, but there will not be a freeze on settlements.

TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS IN WEST BANK

JERUSALEM — About 120 people were killed on West Bank roads, including 30 Israelis, in traffic accidents during 1983.

LAWYER DEMANDS END TO TORTURE

JERUSALEM — Lawyer Felicia Langer called on the West Bank military legal advisor to stop the torture of her client Abdullah Mahmoud Bashir, at Nablus prison.

After visiting Bashir, who is serving a 10-month sentence, she learned that he had been in an isolation cell for 16 days where he cannot see light or wash. He was also beaten and tortured, physically and psychologically, to force him to admit something he did not do.

Italian President Attacks US Role in Lebanon

by Livia Rokach
Our Rome Correspondent

ROME, JANUARY 2 — Italian President Sandro Pertini, who received six death sentences from special tribunals of the fascist regime, escaped four times from fascist security prisons, lived a lifetime dedicated to the struggle for freedom and democracy and as a non-conformist and independent spirit was neither "misquoted" nor "misunderstood." The Reagan administration's efforts to undermine, through similar definitions, the Italian President's judgements on US and Israeli policies in Lebanon and Palestine have failed, miserably and sensationally. Not only did Pertini, in his official New Year's TV message, broadcasted into the homes of millions of conationals, reconfirm the role played by himself in supporting public demand for the withdrawal of the Italian multinational forces contingent from Beirut, a withdrawal already begun, he also unreservedly:

— Accused the US and France of carrying out war policies in Lebanon and massive bombings under the false pretense of maintaining "peace forces" in Beirut;

— Dissociated the original aims and subsequent conduct of the Italian contingent from those of the American and French forces, thus *de facto* posting a tombstone on the US and NATO design to transform the MNF in its present composition into an allied Rapid Deployment Force in the Middle East;

— Affirmed that at no time until the completion of the gradual withdrawal will Italian troops be in any way involved in military or other acts of hostility in Lebanon;

— Stated that the present situation in Lebanon may spark a global superpower confrontation and therefore a nuclear holocaust;

— Expressed his feelings of "horror and anxiety" generated by the sight, during a visit to Beirut, of the mass graves in Sabra and Shatila, and more in general by the suffering of the Palestinian people "dispersed and persecuted in today's world as the Jews were at other times";

— Categorically reaffirmed once more "the holy right of the Palestinians to their homeland and land" and a solution in this sense as the only guarantee for restoring peace to the Middle East;

— Voiced the demand that "the person responsible for the massacres of Sabra and Shatila, who is still today a member of the government in Israel... should be banned by all human society";

— Expressed full support for the peace movement and its anti-missile actions and demonstrations.

As US and Israeli protests were pouring in for the second time in a week, understandably, one is tempted to say, Pope John Paul II, in an unprecedented move, phoned Pertini to express "full solidarity" with the contents of his address, which, the head of the Catholic Church said, "was the best pronounced in the five years of your presidency."

But, most of all, Pertini expressed the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the Italian people, once more confirming his vocation of being an opposite pole to that of a conformist and cowardly political ruling class, which has made of him the most popular president of the post-war republic.

Deprived of executive powers and constitutionally a representative figurehead, the presidency in the person of Pertini carries political and practical weight, however, thanks precisely to this popularity and to the moral authority connected to it. In the specific case of Lebanon, Pertini's merit has been not only that of throwing his weight behind the vast public opposition to the Italian military involvement in Beirut and thus helping to bring about the December 7 government decision on the withdrawal of the troops, but also that of taking the lid off the government's efforts to keep this withdrawal secret for as long as possible to please the Reagan administration and mislead the US Congress and public opinion. Pertini's statement to the parliamentary reporters on Christmas Eve, following the recording of his message to the nation but prior to its release, that "let us say it clearly: the Americans are in Lebanon not to defend peace but to defend Israel (and to that effect) they send those ships of theirs every day to pour tons of bombs on Lebanese land" was, moreover, the first, only and clearest act of dissociation from this country's "big brother" in NATO, explaining the withdrawal in precise and honest political terms.

After this, not accidentally, having been deprived of the possibility to stutter and deceive, the Italian government is slowly coming into the open as well.

Reluctantly but inevitably, Italian Defence Minister Giovanni Spadolini went to Beirut last weekend, to inform Lebanese President Amin Gemayel personally of the impending "restructuring" of the Italian contingent, 700 of whose members have already been repatriated this week. About 500 others will be back in the next few days. In a couple of months from now — the military camp hospital which last week, too, proved an indispensable medical sevice to the civilian population of south Beirut — will probably represent the only remaining structure of an operation started 14 months ago under very different auspices in military headquarters in the West.

On New Year's eve, in an interview to French TV, Amin Gemayel, perhaps in a last desperate attempt, called on the MNF governments to maintain their military presence in Lebanon "in defense of the last post of the West and the free world in the Middle East." Today, despite official denials, a first French contingent of 500 men has been recalled from Beirut. Radio Beirut also reported insistent rumours of plans for a withdrawal of the US Marines.

US Resumes Offensive in Lebanon

by Livia Rokach

JANUARY 2 — While in Washington and Paris, plans take concrete shape to divide Lebanon into mono-ethnical and mono-confessional mini-states, in Beirut, the Lebanese Army prepares for new assaults on the southern neighbourhoods of the capital. The army is again taking up the bloody offensive begun on Christmas Eve and interrupted, December 28, by a cease-fire to give a relative respite to the troops and population during the New Year festivities.

According to *Al Safir*, the so-called "Hariri Plan," named after Rafiq Hariri, the Lebanese-Saudi multi-millionaire and mediator, containing a Saudi proposal for a three-month cease-fire for "national reconciliation dialogue" to be given a chance to take off again, in Geneva or elsewhere, is already in shambles, due to a US decision to proceed towards a "cantonization" which would see Lebanon divided into seven "cantons, along the Swiss model," with Beirut as a confederal capital.

Whatever the name given these plans or the pretexts masking them, observers in Beirut expect the next few days or weeks to be marked by a renewed deluge of shells crashing into the densely populated southern areas all around the once predominantly Palestinian camps of Sabra, Shatila and Burj al-Barajneh, once more the focal point of genocidal actions by the Phalangists and their Western allies and supporters.

Events began to precipitate on Saturday, December 24, at 9:00 am, when it was noted that the French MNF contingent had overnight evacuated its assigned positions in the Sabra and Shatila sectors and at Hej Farhat, in front of Chiyah. One position of particular strategic importance was in a former school building inside Sabra camp, at the rear of the Italian-controlled sectors of the camps. In a perfect example of NATO and Western solidarity, the French command never alerted the Italian command of its intention to evacuate its positions in the camps. The evacuation had been coordinated, however, with the Lebanese Army at least twelve days before, according to a statement issued later in Paris by the French ministry of defence.

Later, a Lebanese Army spokesperson attempted to accuse their French allies of having given them "only ten minutes" notice to prepare the takeover of the evacuated positions. In reality, the troops were given the order to march on south Beirut early in the morning, but Shi'ite components of the units assigned to the takeover refused to do so. The army had to reorganise the assignments, finally throwing elite armoured units into what was defined by military experts as the "biggest battle since the Israeli attack on Beirut in June 1982."

Lasting from Saturday morning to Tuesday night, December 27-28, the battle engaged all components of the resistance present in West Beirut against a force of over 200 M-48 Patton tanks equipped with heavy artillery and manned with selected Lebanese troops guided by US "advisors." The balance of forces was decidedly in favour of the Lebanese Army, which in the course of three days' fighting took over the French-evacuated positions. But the resistance was careful not to throw all its strength into the confrontation, fearing attacks from other directions and attempts by the army to penetrate into the barricaded Shi'ite neighbourhoods situated beyond the actual fighting line. All the resistance forces in West Beirut in fact were under orders to stand by for defensive battles in case of army sweeps against the various neighbourhoods, but weapons were not to be visible until such attacks occurred.

Resistance positions in the mountains supplied fire cover to the fighters in south Beirut and heavily shelled neighbourhoods in East Beirut and army concentrations beyond the "green line" in an effort to prevent the troops' advance. The army, however, succeeded in establishing a new military line running from the airport highway in front of Ghobeiri and Chiyah to the Gallerie Samaan crossing. Moreover, with the takeover of the school position in Sabra, the army now controls the road running down to the seaside, vital for logistic supplies.

Although the resistance forces have lost none of their established positions and the southern Shi'ite neighbourhoods remain barricaded on almost all sides, the failure to win new positions and the takeover by the Lebanese Army of the evacuated French positions — seven in all — undoubtedly constitute a setback which the Gemayel regime will most likely try to exploit in coming days. A new, horrible situation has been created for the civilian population throughout West Beirut, but especially in Sabra-Shatila where the Lebanese Army now maintains positions inside the camps, behind the lines of the Italians who are still supposed to protect the populatons residing there: an absurd situation. Phalangist-directed army commando units have through the past week arrested and taken away hundreds more Palestinian and Lebanese youths in trucks to unknown destinations. Lebanese Army patrols are constantly on the move in the camps and Lebanese Army checkpoints have been set up at the entrances, practically preventing any attempt by the Italian garrison units to intervene in favour of the population.

The Italian government has protested against the arbitrary arrests, and the issue was reported in an official communique issued in Rome to have been discussed between Amin Gemayel and Italian Defense Minister Giovanni Spadolini during the latter's visit to Beirut on Saturday. According to the official statement, Spadolini demanded that the Italian troops remaining in and around the camps should be in control of the situation and should be permitted to prevent "actions contrary to the principles of legality and humanity" against the camps population. There was no mention, however, of the response to this demand by Gemayel and none of the persons arrested seem to have been released so far, despite affirmations to the contrary by a Beirut government spokesman.

Arbitrary arrests and brutal kidnappings of Lebanese civilians have taken place through the past week also in other neighbourhoods, especially on the unprotected outskirts of Shi'ite areas but also in the center of West Beirut and Hamra. A dozen young boys were seen by Western reporters dragged, blindfolded and tied by Lebanese troops along the coast road leading south.

A correspondent for *il Corriere della Sera* was beaten on Hamra when he tried to intervene in favour of two arrested youngsters. The testimony of Ettore Mo, reported by the biggest Italian daily: "On Thursday, December 29, at 5:00 pm, I saw six soldiers in combat uniform pushing in front of them, with the barrels of their guns stuck into their back, two youths in civilian clothes. I asked who these boys were, but received, in all reply, a beating which flung me banging against a wall some distance away... soon, however, the identity of the boys emergd through a loud cry in Arabic which someone translated for me: 'Kill them, these Shi'ite bastards!'"